THE PRESENT POSITION OF BIBLIOGRAPHY [1]

By W. W. GREG

I T is an undesigned coincidence that my pre-
decessor in this chair closed his term of office
with an address on the history of bibliography
and I am opening mine with one on its present
position. But it is, perhaps, not without signi-
ficance, for it is time that bibliography took
stock of the situation. Unless I am mistaken a certain change of
outlook is occurring among bibliographers, while a certain change
is also observable in the way in which bibliography is looked on
from the outside. No doubt the two are related : let us hope
as an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace.

The outward sign is at any rate the more manifest and the
easier to evaluate. It is now nearly twenty years ago that, with
what many may have thought at the time, and what looking
back I cannot but confess, was the temerity, not to say the
arrogance, of youth, I ventured to address you on the question
'What is Bibliography ? ' [2] At the end of my paper on that
occasion I indulged in the dream of a course of bibliography
to be delivered in one of our English universities. I did not
venture to make it a professorial course, and I do not think

[1] Presidential address given before the Bibliographical Society on 20 October
1930.   [2] 19 February 1912 ; *Transactions*, xii. 39.

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I much expected to see my hope fulfilled. It is true that the course I dreamed of has not yet been delivered, but it will be some day. For, as you all know, there has now been a bibliographical chair in the University of London for over ten years. To that chair the University appointed the only fitting person, Alfred Pollard. Both foundation and appointment were, I think, important for the University, and there can be no doubt of their importance for bibliography. There is, indeed, one point upon which criticism might fasten. The chair is, I understand, one of English Bibliography. It is possible that such a title may encourage the idea that bibliography is a descriptive matter, whose function is the more or less detailed enumeration of books dealing with some specified subject. In fact, to suppose that bibliography can be parcelled out into linguistic, literary, or regional departments is to harbour a dangerous fallacy. At the same time there is no objection to linking bibliographical training with the teaching of English or any other literature, in the study of which it is so necessary an instrument ; and as long as the training is in the hands of a teacher of Mr. Pollard's stamp and on the lines on which he has started it, we may rest assured that, far from the chair becoming a stronghold of antiquated modes of thought, it will continue to be a centre of the new light.

The teaching of bibliography seems to me at the moment a matter of some consequence, for upon it depends not only the position which the study itself may be expected to hold in the future, but also the progress likely to be made in certain other studies, and even the lines upon which those studies will probably develop. It is gratifying, therefore, to find that a good deal of attention is in various quarters being given to bibliographical instruction. London not only boasts a professorship, but has also, at University College, a lectureship, which for several years has been held with distinction by Mr. Esdaile. Its subject, however, is what I should describe as librarianship rather

than bibliography—at least the very useful little book which is, I understand, the outcome of one course delivered, is mainly concerned with such help in finding one's way about among books as a librarian might be expected to supply for his readers. Some more informal instruction is also given to students of literature both at University College and at King's.

Looking beyond London I am handicapped by a very extensive ignorance of academic curricula, and I must not be supposed to be wilfully ignoring either the aspirations or performance of the younger universities if I confine my few remarks to Oxford and Cambridge, those kind mothers in whose families I feel myself most at home. One other university, I know, recently did a bibliographer a very high honour indeed.

Academically speaking, Cambridge, with a tradition in bibliography going back to Henry Bradshaw, might lay some claim to be regarded as the particular home of that study in England, and it was of course by many years the earliest to have a formal and endowed readership in our subject. Among the many courses of lectures that have been delivered on the Sandars foundation, there are several important contributions to various branches of the study—have not all three who occupy this platform to-day in turn held the post ?—but the discontinuity involved in annual appointment has of necessity forbidden any systematic teaching, and characteristically Cambridge has tended in the past rather to foster individual bibliographical talent than to found anything of the nature of a school. But the need for definite instruction is making itself felt even here, and some individual help for students is available, though as yet the subject has found no favour in the eyes of authority.

Much more promising are the prospects of bibliography at the sister university—Oxford, the home, let us hope, not of lost causes alone. The distinction between two attitudes, no

less than between the older and the modern approach, is pointed by a comparison of the work done by the Baskerville Club at Cambridge and the Oxford Bibliographical Society. And here we find that bibliography is a subject for regular instruction in the B.Litt. course of the English school. From among the scholars who have been and are connected with that school it is perhaps invidious to select any for special mention, but one may suspect that bibliography owes its position in the course mainly to the initiative of Mr. Percy Simpson. His realization of its importance in literary studies is testified by a number of striking essays, starting with his valuable, if unfortunately named, *Shakespearian Punctuation* in 1911. In this he was assisted, as he has also been in the teaching of bibliography, by Mr. R. W. Chapman, a scholar whose enthusiasm embraces alike cancel leaves and silver spoons—both worthy objects. Mr. Chapman's connexion with books is of course professional, and indeed the recognition of the value of bibliographical study at Oxford is, I believe, primarily due to the University Press, and even so perhaps to a fortunate accident. There was a time when the belief there prevailed that any one with a good classical education on the broad lines of the Oxford tradition was sufficiently equipped to undertake the editing of any English author. Of course, this simple faith was bound sooner or later to lead to disaster, and one day a book appeared that was a real disgrace, and which received well-merited castigation. The Secretary to the Delegates at the time was a gentleman who combined a valuable capacity for learning by experience with a useful gift of forcible language. He at once saw the need for an English scholar on whose help and judgement the Press could rely. What he said is irrelevant, but since then Mr. Simpson has been at hand to furnish expert advice.

The academic recognition of bibliography is one manifest sign of its altered position in the world. Another might be

found in the fact that in 1920 a bibliographer was invited to
give evidence before a government committee on the teaching
of English. On that occasion I had the honour of putting my
views before an authoritative body, which in its elaborate
report found room for the following paragraphs : [1]

'We also wish, in relation to research work, to draw atten-
tion to the importance of training advanced students of
English language and literature in Bibliography. . . . The
wide scope of bibliographical investigation was made clear
in the evidence of [the witness] :—

'"It is not, as often supposed, confined to the invention of
printing and the classification of the products of the early
presses : rather it covers the whole study of the material
transmission of literature in its widest sense. Since practically
all extant literature has at some time passed through a stage
of material, as opposed to oral or memorial, transmission,
and since the fundamental task of criticism is the establish-
ment of the text, bibliography has been well styled the
' grammar of literature.'

'"Thus bibliography may be defined as the systematic
study of the transmission of the written word whether
through manuscript or print, and it aims at the evolution
of a critical organon by which the utmost possible results
may be extracted from the available evidence. It forms the
greater and most essential part of the duty of the editor, but
its value in criticism is by no means confined to the editor.
It will be found of service in every field of investigation, and
cannot be neglected even by the ' aesthetic ' critic without
loss.

'"It frequently happens that the close examination of an
old print or manuscript, the actual arrangement of the

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[1] *The Teaching of English in England.* Report of the Departmental Committee
on the Position of English in the Educational System of England. 1921
(§ 223, pp. 241–2).

words on the page or the material condition of the leaves, still more frequently the comparison of different editions or different manuscripts, suggests to the bibliographical eye the solution of problems towards which literary critics have been long and blindly groping." . . .

'We are convinced that in every University where research work in English is undertaken provision should be made for instruction in bibliography.'

It was gratifying to find my personal confession of faith thus accepted by the committee, and the practical corollary from it so unequivocally endorsed. It was also a little surprising, and it may have required some guidance to lead the committee to its conclusion, for the effect of my evidence at the time seemed to be a little confused. I remember the chairman recalling how he first came to realize that the canon and text of the New Testament were not something given in the form in which they are familiar to us to-day, but that this form was the result of the patient labours of generations of scholars upon ancient and often obscure originals; and how this realization had let in a flood of new light on his mind. The same applied, of course, to the canon and text of Shakespeare, or any other author. Some other members of the committee thought how nice it would be if, when Shakespeare was being read in schools, the children could be shown a copy of the First Folio, that they might realize in what guise his plays appeared to his earliest readers. Perhaps it would—the late Mr. Folger might have been asked to loan out some of his superfluous copies for the purpose—but personally the prospect does not appeal to me. I think the chairman, unlike some members of the committee—who had probably not read my memorandum—had grasped the meaning of bibliography sufficiently to realize that it is a subject which, though its function in literary scholarship may be usefully indicated in the school curriculum and the ordinary university course, should, so far

as method is concerned, be reserved for post-graduate study by those who are actually called upon to use it. But that a government committee on teaching should actually desire to hear about bibliography, and should include in their report a sympathetic reference to its importance, is, it seems to me, a remarkable acknowledgement of its claim to be regarded as a serious study.

Thus in the last quarter of a century, and largely in the last ten years, bibliography has come to be recognized as something of account in literary scholarship, and we may well ask to what this revolution is due. To what change, if any, does it correspond in its own outlook? Briefly I should say that bibliography has become self-conscious : it is beginning to discover its own significance. The amateur and the dilettante are giving place to the expert and the scholar. I know that this sounds abominably priggish, but I assure you most earnestly that it is not priggishly meant. We are all of us, at least if we are worth our salt, amateurs and dilettanti of the subjects to which we devote our study. And the scholar, the specialist, may be an exceedingly dusty person. For the amateurs and dilettanti I have a profound respect; not only because they are the very founders and builders of our craft, and because they loved it in the right, the only, way, but no less for the vast and precious knowledge they garnered for our use. How often we, who call ourselves scholars, are but the gleaners that come after!—' But have you not—how say you ?—what we call *Gelehrte* ? ' a foreign visitor once asked Henry Sidgwick. ' Oh, yes,' Sidgwick replied, making the most of his inimitable stammer, ' but here we call them p-p-prigs ! '—But when we have humbly admitted the truth of this, there remains, I think, a difference of approach, that may be rightly held—for I would not appear too modest—in some measure to redress the balance. The amateur studies the things he loves for their own sake, usually as individuals or as examples of some more or less

restricted class. He notes and describes. Others do the like. Gradually from the accumulated stores of many individual searchers emerge resemblances and contrasts, general lines of cleavage or of development : in short the facts become significant. Every fact a scholar uses may have been recorded before ; it is in his appreciation of its significance in relation to other facts, of its application to other problems, that he distinguishes himself from the amateur. I have heard it said of a Cambridge philosopher that he would talk with any man on his own subject, and that at the end of half an hour he would know more about that subject than the man himself. What he possessed was a power of seeing the significance of facts, the power of scientific combination. And this sense of significance and relation, if it does not make the scholar superior to the amateur, at least enables him to give immeasurably greater vitality to their study. He no longer contents himself with observation and record—important as these must always remain—beyond the outward facts he seeks the latent meaning, the hidden cause. In his hands the subject ceases to be descriptive and static, it becomes dynamic and historical.

But it may still be questioned whether my claim that in bibliographical studies the scholar has succeeded the amateur is in fact true. Granted the validity of the distinction I have in mind, I think it is. I need not enlarge on the scholarly *expertise* of those who are active in the field to-day—I shall have a word to say about some of them later. Still, amateur or dilettante seems a curious term to apply, with any sense of limitation, to such a man as Henry Bradshaw, and I can fancy Mr. Pollard's eyebrows lifting. Bradshaw is rightly regarded as the founder, or one of the founders, of the modern study of typography, perhaps the most 'scientific' branch of bibliography, and many notable advances in other departments are equally connected with his name. I might plead that no single instance, not even several instances, need invalidate my main

conclusion. But I do not know that I need do so. I think the reader of Bradshaw's collected papers, while he will wonder at the range of their subjects and the grasp of the treatment, will find little hint of any synthesis, or conscious attempt to bring the various threads into such a relation as to weave a significant pattern. In this respect his work belongs to the elder school, and it is by his sadly fragmentary published work that we are condemned to form a judgement. It may be that if we read between the lines, or turn from his papers to his life, we sometimes get a hint that the wider significance of his investigations and their possible interrelations may not have been altogether absent as a background to his thought. I have sometimes wondered whether, if one could have looked into that wonderfully stored mind, one would not have discovered that he was in truth the first of the moderns, and whether it was not mainly a scholar's modesty that forbade his claiming a wider generality for his studies than he did. I fancy we get an occasional glimpse of something of the sort, particularly in his work on Cornish-Breton glosses. Of course it is implicit likewise in his Chaucerian studies. True, his printed paper, 'The Skeleton of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales' (Memorandum 4), really begins where bibliography leaves off. But that Bradshaw himself recognized the subject as bibliographical appears from a letter he wrote to Furnivall (7 Aug. 1868) in which he says : 'My only 'point is my method, which I always insist on in everything 'in bibliography—arrange your facts rigorously and get them 'plainly before you, and let them *speak for themselves*, which 'they will always do.'[1]

But this is a digression. However it has come about, and whoever may have helped in the process, I think there can be

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[1] *Memoir*, p. 349. Prothero prints 'vigorously', but 'rigorously' must be what Bradshaw intended. Curiously enough Bradshaw regarded typography as 'a contribution to the history of art' (letter to G. I. F. Tupper, 6 May 1870, facing p. 360).

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no doubt of the general trend of development from the accumulation of particular knowledge to a realization of its significance, or that in becoming aware of the process bibliography is at the present moment entering on a new phase of its career.   The change of outlook is one fraught with possibilities. There is a brilliant little book on mathematics in the Home University Library, that in my Cambridge days we used to know as ' Whitehead's shilling shocker '—it now costs half a crown.   Among many other wise things, it contains the remark that usually the last thing to be discovered concerning any science is what it is about.   If we can answer that question with respect to bibliography, then it may at least be supposed to have attained to maturity as a serious study.   Can we ?

Probably the answer must still be tentative, and there will be little unanimity as to its precise form.   But if bibliography has become self-conscious it will at least be recognized that the question is a pertinent one, and that a good deal may depend on getting the right answer.   I will give you my own, but I do not ask you to accept it, for I have no leisure this afternoon to develop my thesis as I should like.   If you will grant me so much indulgence I shall hope to do so upon some future occasion.

Very briefly I would put it thus.   I take it for granted that bibliography is the study of books as material objects.   But what are books ? and why in the world should we study them ? Now, although bibliography is not directly concerned with the contents of books, it is ultimately the contents that are of value, and books are of importance only as the vehicle by which those contents reach us.   Books are our main link with the thought and action of the past, and bibliographical facts are important as they relate to the way in which books fulfil their function.   I should therefore give my answer as follows : Bibliography is the study of the material transmission of literary and other documents ; its ultimate aim is to solve the problems

of origin, history, and text, in so far as this can be achieved through minute investigation of the material means of transmission. The answer may be unexpected, but I think it is strictly logical. I have sought to give it such a form as to bring out what seems to me the real significance of bibliography: incidentally it has the merit of discountenancing the descriptive heresy, and also of avoiding any ambiguity that may lurk in the word ' book ' itself.

I do not suppose that all, or perhaps any, of those to whose labours bibliography owes the interest now taken in it in the wider world of literary studies, would agree with my answer as it stands. But at least, if true, it accounts for that interest, and I think that it, or some similar conception, will be found underlying and inspiring the work of many to whom we chiefly owe the introduction of the new spirit into bibliography, and who are likely to be chiefly instrumental in directing its development. They are well known to you all, and perhaps to mention names may be a delicate matter. But I am in a privileged position this afternoon : I am speaking to you from the chair, and there is no one to call me to order. For once I can give you my candid opinion of those with whom I have been to some extent associated in what will perhaps one day be recognized as a significant critical movement, and has certainly been an exhilarating adventure.

In the first place there is Professor Pollard, he who has so long and so ably guided the destinies of this Society, and under whose benign dictatorship it is now my proud privilege and satisfaction to occupy the strictly constitutional chair. Mr. Pollard got his training and won his bibliographical spurs in the old school, and affection and conservatism alike make him sometimes cling to its ways. But no one is younger of mind than he, and neither affection nor conservatism have blinded him to the significance of new ideas or stood in his way as an apostle of the new learning. Much of the advance has been

directly due to him, more still to his encouragement and inspiration. In breadth of view and imaginative grasp of the significance of new discoveries he has often been ahead of those by whom the discoveries were made. And where he has not himself been our leader in new fields of exploration he has been content to follow the tracks of younger and less experienced men with the generosity of the true scholar. I cannot remember who it was said to me not long ago that Mr. Pollard was a remarkable instance of a man who had produced his best work when he had passed the age of fifty. I do not know whether that is true or whether it is really unusual, but I am certain that in the last twenty years his work has grown less encumbered by traditional modes of thought. We are all familiar with the core of conservative prejudice often found in the professed radical and iconoclast. Mr. Pollard's conservatism is something far more innocent than that : a conservatism of the heart that the mind knows and can at need strip off. I see him, as it were, still fondly huddling some rags of weathered garment round the stark limbs of the athlete that should be his chiefest glory.

Next to Mr. Pollard I see his henchman in our government, Dr. McKerrow. I believe that few realize the full debt which bibliography, as well as this Society, owes to his patient and extraordinarily unassuming labours. Unless I am much mistaken, his pamphlet bearing the characteristically modest and uninviting title of ' Notes on Bibliographical Evidence for Literary Students and Editors of English Works of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries ', reprinted from our *Transactions* for 1911–13, was one of the most important influences in awakening literary students to the need for a bibliographical equipment. He has now recast and enlarged it, and I have no doubt whatever that future scholars will reckon as one of the principal landmarks in the history of the subject his curiously named *Introduction to Bibliography*. I rather disapprove of

the title : for one thing I wanted it myself; for another his book is a pretty thorough survey of the particular field he has chosen. Dr. McKerrow is the realist, for ever questioning, for ever probing after new facts or after the interpretation of old ones, and he has, I believe, the greatest technical knowledge and skill of any bibliographer, in this country at least. When a problem baffles us we all take it to him, and seldom, if ever, in vain. I am persuaded that, had he stood on Sinai when Moses received the graven tables, he would have there and then sat down to hunt the telltale flaw that would reveal the method of production—and he would have found it.

Then there is Professor Dover Wilson. He is of imagination all compact. And imagination, I would remind you, is the highest gift in scientific investigation, even if it may be at times the deepest pitfall. Whether his conclusions stand or not—and I am sure that he himself would be the last to claim finality for them—he has at least introduced a new spirit and a new outlook into the secular task of editing Shakespeare, and it will never be the same again. And whether we agree with his arguments or whether we do not, to follow him in his attack on age-old problems or down new vistas of unsuspected possibilities is always an exhilaration and a delight. Reading him I am constantly reminded of a story in the papers a few years ago. A company of French soldiers were anchoring a captive balloon in a high wind, when the monster got out of hand. The men were swept off their feet. Some let go and were dashed to the ground, others held on and were carried away. Even so, under the fascination of Professor Wilson's ingenuity, I am ever in doubt whether to let go and risk a nasty fall, or to cling desperately and be borne I know not whither.

I must not continue this catalogue of personalities, though it were easy and is tempting to do so. But there is one other I should like to mention, though he was never, I regret to say,

a member of this Society, and was indeed rather a lone wolf, belonging consciously to no school or movement. I mean the late Henry Bradley. I am convinced that no keener mind was ever bent upon bibliographical problems, but so many-sided were his intellectual interests and activities, that perhaps few bibliographers realize the brilliance of the contributions he made to their own studies. And it was, to me at least, a great disappointment that not one of his essays that touched on bibliography was included in the memorial volume published by the Oxford University Press. The reason was, I believe, that they were accessible elsewhere ; some in the proceedings of the British Academy, of which he was for many years a Fellow. But those familiar with his papers on the numbered sections of Anglo-Saxon poetry and on Abbo of Fleury will not be surprised at my mentioning him here.

Bradley, as I have said, was never a member of this Society, and I cannot help feeling that it points to some failure on our part that we did not reckon him one of us. I once heard Mr. Pollard say that if the Bibliographical Society really ful-filled its mission every professor of English in the country who understood his job would find it necessary to belong to it. I think he was right; though perhaps the blame does not rest with the Society alone. Teachers of English are sometimes a little afraid of the technical side of books, and I won't blame them. I was once talking bibliographical shop with Mr. R. W. Chapman in the presence of a professor of English. It was at Oxford, somewhere about the gate of the Parks : the time near midnight. We had dined well and were in a confidential mood. After a while the professor said wistfully : ' You ' fellows are making literature a very difficult subject. I think ' I should have done better to go on the Stock Exchange.'

But if it might in any case have been a hard task to make the professorial horse drink at the cold springs of bibliography, I hardly think that the Society has done all it might to lead

him thereto. While the significance of bibliography for litera-
ture has gained in recognition outside, while a new orientation
has become evident in the work of individual bibliographers,
I regret to say that I have noticed little consciousness of the
facts in our own proceedings. If, as I started by saying, biblio-
graphy has become self-conscious, we as a Society have re-
mained, shall I say, naïve, content to pursue our way without
question of why or whither. Our membership has increased
surprisingly and has come to include a number of professors or
future professors of English literature, but I cannot help wonder-
ing whether some at least of these have not been disappointed.
I am not complaining of the subjects or the quality of our
papers or our publications; I believe that much of the work we
have produced has been excellent and the general level high.
What I feel wanting in it is a sense of direction, an appreciation
that the various lines of investigation are somehow related in a
common end. The new discovery, which I have tried to put
into words by saying that bibliography is concerned with the
transmission of literary documents, has been made, and it is
going to affect progressively the relations of bibliography with
literary and historical study; it is only a question whether
that development takes place mainly outside this Society or
mainly within it. It is, I think, important both for the
study and for the Society that it should be the latter. If it
takes place outside, then it will mean that historical critics,
alive to the necessities of the situation, will imbibe as best
they may and apply as best they can a more or less adequate
and a more or less intelligent knowledge of bibliographical
method: if, on the other hand, it takes place within the
Society, it will have behind it all the treasured accumulations
of the older school, a sense of the unity of the subject, the
valuable inheritance of a tradition. And at the moment when
bibliography is being welcomed and even acclaimed as an im-
portant historical study, for the Bibliographical Society to

stand aside would surely be a renunciation that would border on betrayal. It is my most earnest hope that the Society will awake to self-consciousness and welcome the new direction that its studies are taking: if it does, I have no doubt but that it will play a part that will be important and perhaps decisive in various fields of academic research. It was this hope that gave me confidence, and even made me eager, to accept the position to which you have done me the honour to call me. When the suggestion was first made I told Mr. Pollard that if elected I should use my position frankly for purposes of propaganda. He replied: ' Bless you, my son: do your damnedest!' —or words to that effect.

I should like to see the Society take for its motto, ' Bibliography is the Grammar of Literature '. I do not know who invented that phrase, which was quoted by our first President in his inaugural address, but it seems to me to sum up the present movement. Only literature is rather too narrow a word, for the documents that form the subject-matter of bibliography are as much historical as strictly literary. Even it must be admitted that, whatever its aesthetic soul may be, the body of literature, that which alone bibliography can approach, is ultimately a matter and a department of history. Thus, as I see it, bibliography is an historical study, or perhaps I should rather say a method of historical investigation. And this would seem to have a bearing on the question sometimes debated whether bibliography should be regarded as a science. The question is no doubt partly a verbal one and in so far trivial. But not altogether, for the answer given to the question may throw light upon the meaning of bibliography. In other words, it is upon our conception of bibliography that will depend our view whether it is a science—or what ?

I believe it has even been claimed that bibliography is an exact science. I once asked Mr. Pollard what he thought was meant by that phrase. He replied that he supposed

mathematics was the type of the exact sciences.[1] I was amused a few days later, on opening Mr. Sullivan's admirable little *History of Mathematics*,[2] to find that it is not a science at all but an art or game, since ' unlike the sciences, but like the art ' of music or the game of chess, mathematics is a free creation ' of the mind '. That is unquestionably true, and consequently Mr. Pollard's criterion will not help us. Is there in fact any distinction ? Is not exactitude the aim of every science, which it approaches as it gains in mastery over its material ? I suspect psychology of being at present the least exact of the sciences, but I know no reason why it should not attain exactitude as it reaches maturity and learns to define its nature and scope. Mr. Bernard Shaw remarks somewhere, if my memory serves, that the distinction between fine art and applied art is a false one : the only valid distinction is between fine art and bad art, or between applied art and misapplied art. So I think that the real distinction is not between an exact science and any other, but between a mature science and one that is still groping after its foundations, or else merely between science and bunkum.

Now if bibliography is a branch or a method of historical study, then before we can answer the question whether bibliography is a science, we need to answer that other question whether or not there is a science of history. The two questions become in fact one. Grant that there is such a science ; then all sound methods of historical investigation, including bibliography, are scientific. If, on the other hand, history is an art, then I am not sure that bibliography is any better than a pander. Upon this battle-field of the nature of history I join issue with my friend Professor Trevelyan, who has just

[1] [I should have said ' enters into any science which can be called exact.'— A. W. P.]

[2] *The History of Mathematics in Europe from the Fall of Greek Science to the Rise of the conception of Mathematical Rigour.* By J. W. N. Sullivan. 1925.

republished, albeit a little apologetically, his early essay entitled *Clio, a Muse*, the most eloquent plea that I know for the artistic view of history. I really don't want to be offensive to my friends, but surely looked at disinterestedly and unprofessionally the matter is simple enough. It is merely the vanity of historians that leads them to suppose that History is what they write. History, in fact, is nothing else than the mighty stream of human events itself. What historians write is a peculiar form of fiction, and Clio is a muse because, when Herodotus lived, this was the only form of prose fiction known to the Greeks. The knowledge of human events, and the methods by which that knowledge is pursued, have just as good a claim to be called a science as have any other body of facts and any other instruments of research. Nowadays we know too much about scientific laws, those convenient expressions of habitual behaviour, to suppose that their enunciation is essential before ' scientia ' can become ' science '.

I am therefore bold to claim for bibliography the title of a science, and believe that as a method of discovery it is thoroughly scientific. It rests with us who use it to make it an efficient, as it is certainly a legitimate, instrument of historical investigation. Upon this, as I conceive it, rests the future of bibliography and its claim to serious consideration, a consideration that is already being in some measure accorded it. As the organon of research into the transmission of literary and historical documents—that is, at once into their original form and subsequent adventures—bibliography should take rank as a mature science in the world of scholarship: as an adjunct to the collecting of pretty books it is at most an amiable game. It has the power and the opportunity, if it is capable of taking a wide outlook and willing to co-operate in a wider field, of rendering great, perhaps critical, service to humaner studies. But there is a danger which, while I do not think it very serious, had best not be lost from view. There is one service which may

be asked of bibliography, or at least of bibliographers, and is indeed all too readily asked of them, which it is no part of their business to perform. It is that bibliography should become the slave of other sciences, charged with the compilation of ' bibliographies '. This is mere prostitution. I do not think that such a view of their function is commonly held by bibliographers themselves, but one occasionally meets with it in the dark world outside. It is the invention of those professors of other studies, more often I think literary than what we generally term scientific, who are too slovenly and too indolent to do the drudgery of their own work for themselves. So they would make of bibliographers a race of Robots to do it for them. And bibliographers, who are, I almost regret to say, for the most part an amiable and modest folk, have been sometimes inclined to flatter the preposterous demand. I have no quarrel with bibliographies or their compilers, nor do I deny the need for some bibliographical knowledge both in ascertaining the characteristics of books enumerated and in presenting the information when acquired ; but there can be no question whatever that bibliographies should be compiled, after mastering the necessary bibliographical technique, by experts in the subjects of which they treat, and not by bibliographers at the dictation of the experts. And when you hear a professor of literature loudly demanding that bibliographers should provide him with the bibliographies he requires, you may rest assured that if his demands were gratified he would be utterly incapable of appreciating the bibliographical merit of the work, or of turning the literary to any profitable account.

This outburst may perhaps surprise you, coming as it does from one who served his bibliographical apprenticeship in the compilation of a list of early English plays, and who has spent thirty years, more or less, on elaborating the same, or rather in preparing the full bibliographical description for which the earlier work was admittedly only a trial-list. And you may

think that indirectly I am being hardly polite to certain
eminent bibliographers, such as my friends Mr. T. J. Wise
and Dr. Geoffrey Keynes. I assure you—I need hardly assure
them—that I do the fullest justice to their bibliographical
prowess. But what really gives their work its ultimate value
is their enthusiasm for Coleridge and Swinburne, for Harvey
and Blake. They are before all else experts, who put their
bibliographical *expertise* at the service of their true loves. And
that is what I have in effect done with regard to the Elizabethan
drama. Only I must confess that I wandered long in darkness
and was late to see the light. It was through compilation that
I became a bibliographer, and only very gradually did I become
conscious that bibliography was something very different from
what I had thought. From that old List of Plays I learned a
number of things. One was the wisdom of the serpent con-
cealed under the dove-like aspect of our Secretary. I had
prepared a skeleton finding-list only, hoping quite shortly to
have ready my full descriptive work covering the same ground.
Mr. Pollard proposed that my skeleton should take on flesh, at
least to the extent of full transcripts of the titles, and handed
it over to our friend R. H. Plomer for this process of incarna-
tion. As printed the work was really as much Plomer's as
mine. Mr. Pollard's wisdom has been justified by thirty years
of waiting. Another thing that I learned was the ease with
which one may establish a reputation in a comparatively un-
cultivated field. Not long after the appearance of my list
I met a German professor who was on a visit to this country.
He looked hard at me and said : ' So you are the author of
' the List of English Plays. I have been wishing to meet you :
' but I thought to see an old man, a great authority ! ' He
was clearly disappointed that I was not a reverend greybeard.
Well, that was a quarter of a century ago, but perhaps he
would be just as disappointed in me to-day, for though I have
had the misfortune to grow older, I fear I have grown neither

reverend nor reverent. A lamentable failure, no doubt. And yet, when I see how often reverence proves but a means to gull oneself, and a reverend aspect a means to gull others, I wonder whether there may not after all be some compensation in remaining as I am.

But there were other and more serious lessons that I learned from my work on the drama. As I inevitably grew to know more about bibliography, it came to occupy a more important, and above all a more independent, position in my mind, and it was gradually and at first obscurely borne in on me that the work I was doing was not really bibliography at all, but that I was only applying the bibliographical technique I had acquired to the service of a quite different matter. Moreover, my interest had for the moment shifted from the printed drama of the Elizabethan age to the earlier religious drama preserved in manuscript. I think it was probably this change that first led me to a wider and deeper conception of the meaning of bibliography, and that it was while carrying through the investigations that later found form in my Sandars lectures on 'Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles' that I got the first inkling that these problems were in fact identical. It was then that I began to grope round after some guiding principle in bibliographical studies, some clue to the direction in which they were tending. My first attempt to supply an answer to the questions that presented themselves was the paper I submitted to you in December 1912. To-day I have tried to carry the discussion a little farther. Perhaps on a future occasion, if you will bear with me, it may be my privilege to present a fuller and more formal survey of the field, and to develop a thesis which I have asked you this afternoon to take very much on trust.

Meanwhile my work on the English printed drama down to the Restoration has progressed. The material is practically complete and fills fourteen pamphlet cases. Large specimens

are in type. Shortly, I hope, the first section, that containing
the early interludes, will go to press.   This has presented
quite exceptional difficulties owing to the uncertainty of the
chronology, and progress with the later plays and the collected
editions should be comparatively rapid.   Still I fear that
some years must yet elapse before the complete work with
its appendices and index is in your hands. When that happy
day arrives I propose to set to and begin to learn something
about bibliography.

PAPERS USED IN ENGLAND AFTER 1600

I. *The Seventeenth Century to c. 1680*

By EDWARD HEAWOOD

T H E records already collected of paper-marks to be found in English books and documents in the seventeenth century are so considerable (though still far short of what might be desired) that it is impracticable to deal with the whole in a single article. Attention will therefore be chiefly directed to the first eighty years or so of the century, marks which first made their appearance towards its close being reserved for later consideration. There is some fitness in this, for a certain change in the sources of supply (or at least of the marks most in evidence) seems to have set in about 1680, while many of the new marks then appearing persisted till well on into the next century.

As in the previous articles,[1] we give here an alphabetical list of marks taken from many hundreds of volumes in different classes of literature, those of a geographical nature, however, preponderating. MS. documents have also been drawn upon to a lesser extent, useful data having, e.g., been obtained from the Le Fleming (Rydal Hall) Papers sold at Sotheby's in 1925, from the extensive collections of Clayton and Lexington Papers dispersed by the same firm in March and April 1929, and from a smaller collection relating to Maryland sold in June of that year. The Beazeley Collection at the British Museum is of less use after than before 1600, but the collection of marks from Rochester figured by Denne in *Archaeologia* for 1795 has been of some help, whilst scattered data have been derived

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[1] *The Library*, December 1929 and March 1930.

from a number of sources. I am indebted for useful help to
the kindness of correspondents, particularly Dr. F. W. Cock of
Appledore and Mr. W. A. Churchill.

As Briquet brings his systematic record of paper-marks down
to 1600 only, the aid so far afforded by his great work towards
establishing places of origin is for the most part lacking when
we come to later periods. Yet as he occasionally traces subse-
quent developments in certain regions—the Angoumois for
example—we may sometimes glean useful facts from his work,
though we must depend largely on stray indications obtained
otherwise. Le Clert has not a great deal to say about the later
fortunes of the Troyes mills, but it is enough to show that the
export of paper thence to this country cannot have maintained
its early importance much after 1600. We must be content in
many cases with a bare record of occurrences in this country,
with such deductions as to origin as may be suggested by con-
temporary occurrences abroad, where such have been noted.

Much might have been hoped from the interesting inventory
of paper offered for sale in 1674, preserved at the Bodleian and
printed by Mr. R. W. Chapman in *The Library* for March 1927.
But the results of a study of this are disappointing. The fre-
quent want of correspondence between the names of the sorts
and the marks on the papers might at first sight suggest that the
samples had been disarranged after the list of sorts had been
compiled, but before the marks were described. Anyhow, the
names seem applied in a very haphazard way, and from this one
piece of evidence we can hardly conclude that by 1674 they
had definitely crystallized in the senses here employed. There
are, as Mr. Chapman allows, traces of a more logical applica-
tion of the names, and we can only suppose that, in describing
this miscellaneous lot, well-known names were for convenience
applied to papers of similar size for which no generally accepted
names were available. Among the inconsistencies of the list,
there are many cases of the use of different names for papers of

identical size, or of the same name for different sizes. In a general way no doubt one name covers papers of more or less similar size. This must necessarily be true when the name itself has an obvious reference to size, as Medium, Demy, &c., but it still seems that quality and place of origin are considered as well as size. In the following catalogue an attempt is made to identify such of the sorts of the Bodleian list as appear to correspond with papers bearing the marks now recorded.

LIST OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY WATERMARKS

Explanation. As before, Briquet's work is referred to as ' B '. Collections of documents sold at Sotheby's are denoted by the family- or place-name with which they were associated (Townshend, Clayton, Lexington, Maryland, &c.). Marks reported and figured by Denne from Rochester are referred to by the name of that city, and the few now quoted from the Beazeley Collection at the British Museum by ' Canterbury '.

Letters given in brackets after certain records denote those appearing in the respective watermarks, and when they are there placed at different levels the upper are separated in the list from the lower by the sign /. When preceded by + the letters are to be understood as forming a countermark on another part of the sheet. In the figures room has not always been found for such countermarks, but where shown they are linked to the corresponding main marks by the sign =. As before, the scale of the drawings has been reduced to one-half throughout. The great majority are from tracings, but a certain number are freehand copies only, as nearly as possible to scale.

Arms, Amsterdam.

[Although in use abroad throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century, paper with these Arms is not common in England till the last two or three decades and its consideration in detail may be left for the next article.]

Arms, Baden-Hochberg.

Maryland Papers, 1632 (with monogram HBL); Waymouth : *Jewell of Artes* (MS.) (monogr. BL).

[See March number, p. 429, and Fig. 89. The monogram may stand for one of the Blum family (see Arms, Basel)]

Arms, Basel.   Fig. 94.

Inigo Jones drawing, n.d. ; Ogilby : *Africa*, 1670.

[A mark very commonly used by the Basel makers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first example quoted is indistinct, but seems to have below the monogram BL, possibly referring to the Blum family, members of which were long in business in Alsace, but which appears not to have settled at Basel till the eighteenth century. Alone or preceded by various initials, the monogram occurs in association with the arms of Baden-Hochberg (as in Fig. 89, March number) or with the bend on a crowned shield. Heitz (*Les Filigranes avec la Crosse de Bâle*, Strasburg, 1904) has no example with any form of the Wyvern until after 1700. The second example now quoted has below the personal mark of the Dürings of Basel, but Heitz (op. cit.) has no dated example in which this is combined with the complete Basel arms later than 1630. It recurs, however, with the crozier in other forms through most of the eighteenth century, being possibly copied, with the mark itself, by makers outside Basel.

Arms, England alone.

[Less common than the next, and as it is found chiefly after 1680, its consideration may be deferred.]

Arms, English Royal, with supporters.   Fig. 1.

Aeschylus, 1664 (+DV) ; *Late Warres in Denmark*, 1670 ; Evelyn : *Silva*, 1670 (+DV) ; Sandys : *Relation of a Journey*, 1670, 1673 (+DV) ; Moxon : *Globes*, 1674 ; Tavernier : *Several Relations*, 1680 (+DV) ; Blome : *Hist. New Testament*, 1688 (+M. Pallix).

[Makes its appearance in this form soon after the Restoration. The name Pallix (in the shortened form MPx) occurs also with the arms of France and Navarre, and with the fool's cap; it would seem to be French, while the initials D.V. suggest the French maker D. Vaulegard. This mark occurs once in a book printed in Brussels in 1704, which also points to a foreign origin. It appears in the Bodleian list, with the countermark DV, on a paper labelled ' Caen Fooles Cap ' (item 42).]

Arms, France.

As Fig. 2.

Olearius-Mandelslo : *Voyages* 1662 (a few sheets only).

[The only occurrence so far noted.]

As Fig. 3. News-letter, 1671 (Rydal Hall).

[This is apparently from the same source as the single fleur-de-lis on a shield, as in a variant of Fig. 37.]

Arms, France (with star and two trefoils in chief, name below). Fig. 5.

Guillim : *Heraldry*, 1679 (D. Vaulegard) ; Beaumont and Fletcher, 1679 (id.) ; Blome : Geography, 1680 ; e.p. of English books, 1680, 1682, 1685.

[Closely related to the next mark figured. The only name so far found with it is that of Vaulegard, and as the mark occurs in a French book of 1693 the French provenance seems certain.]

Arms, France and Navarre (mostly with names below). Fig. 4.

Drawing of Globe Theatre, by W. H. (? Hollar), 1640 or after (M. Envrin) ; 1648 *Eikon* (Almack No. 1) (G. Durand) ; Hollar print, 1666 (A. Durand) ; Ashmole : *Garter*, 1672 (id.) ; Varenius : *Descr. Japoniae et Siam*, etc., Cambr. 1673 (id.) ; Raleigh : *History*, 1677 (I. Durand, I. Conard, ILT., MLP) ; Herbert : *Travels*, 1677 (A. Durand) ; Fletcher-Conyers MS. of Drake's voyage, 1677 (no name) ; e.p. of Plot : *Oxfordshire*, 1677 (I. Ganne) ; Meriton : *Descrn. of World*, 1679 (P. Homo) ; Guillim : *Heraldry*, 1679 (I. Durand, P. Mauduit) ; Varenius : *Geographia*, Cambridge, 1681 (I. Conard) ; Blome : *Geography*, 1680 or 1693 (P. Mauduit, A. Durand) ; Wright : *Rutland*, 1684 (I. Conard) ; Spelman : *Glossarium* (I. Conard, D. Vaulegard) ; Saxton's England and Wales (reissue), *c.* 1688 ; Milton : *Paradise Lost*, Bentley, 1688 (M. Pallix) ; MS. book, ' late 17th cent.' (R. Gavilard ; one fleur-de-lis only) ; Ogilby : *Britannia*, 1698 (I. Conard) ; and various undated documents and end-papers.

[Quite early in the century (and even before 1600) the associated arms of France and Navarre were used by makers at Troyes and elsewhere (see March number, p. 430 and Fig. 93). Later they are found in French books in

a large and elaborate form, one ex. bearing the countermark of B. Colonbier of Auvergne. Certain makers adopted the mark in the present degenerate form, in which one of the fleurs-de-lis has been dropped out, and the form of the two left is almost unrecognizable.[1] Paper with this mark was perhaps made specially for the English market, as I have not yet found it in a French book, though an occurrence in Holland has been noted, and others of Conard's marks occasionally occur in French books. Apart from the French nationality of the arms, and the names of the French makers, its French origin is established by the letter L. (for Louis) sometimes seen under the shields. The mark may be pretty confidently identified with that of the 20th item in the Bodleian list.]

Arms, Genoa (*Latin cross on shield, with supporters, two circles below*).

Clayton Papers, 1665, 1685–6 (GO ?) ; Tavernier : *Six Voyages*, 1678–80 (N.E.).

[This mark is only occasionally found in England, though common in Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands in the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. It seems to have been used by makers in the south of France as well as at Genoa, side by side with the three circles (q.v.), the two marks constantly occurring in the same book. Item 40 in the Bodleian list named ' Genoa paper ' has a mark agreeing with the above apart from the supporters (these at least are not named). A sort with two dragons as supporters (item 32) is rather strangely designated ' Fine Venice '.]

Arms, London (*City*).

Clayton, 1676 (+ FS), 1680 (+ LL or LC cursive) ; Maryland, *c*. 1685 (+ FS).

[The earliest specimens of these arms (as above) are in an elaborate form with scroll-work round the shield. Both thus and more often in a simpler form the mark was common in the early eighteenth century, and a fuller record, with figures, may be postponed.]

Arms, Strasburg.

(As Fig. 11): Saxton's Atlas by Web, 1645 (IG or other initials below) ; Moore : Map of Fens, *c*. 1650 ? (IC/B below). (As Fig. 12): Speed's Atlas, 1676 (+ AI ; + RC) ;

[1] An undated specimen, with P. Ollivier below, has the three fleurs-de-lis and the chains in unmistakable form, though the style is otherwise the same.

Petty's Atlas, 1683, &c. (+CDG); Chardin: *Travels into Persia*, 1686(+monogram of PVL, as in Fig. 12); and many others.

[Originally a mark of W. Riehel of Strasburg, but widely copied later. The crude form of Fig. 11 suggests its use in a newly established mill, possibly in England. The form of Fig. 12 became stereotyped, and has continued in use with little change down to modern times. The countermark to Fig. 12 is the monogram of the Dutch maker Pieter van der Ley, and the initials CDG often found as countermark are those of Claude de George of Angoulême (see Briquet, p. 704), while AI may stand for Abraham Janssen, Dutch merchant with interests in the same district. Already in the Bodleian list (items 3, 4) this mark is understood to denote ' Royal ' paper, as at the present day.]

Arms, *Württemberg-Montbéliard*. Fig. 6.

Revel Book, 1611–12 (IF below); Burton: *Leicestershire*, 1622 (CVH or CNH ? below).

[Mark used by Jacques Folliot and Gerson Binninger of Montbéliard, either in partnership or independently. This paper had a wide range, and was used a good deal in the Netherlands, where exx. have been noted of dates 1604, 1623–5, 1628, 1633, and 1644, the last in Linschoten's *Itinerario*.]

Arms, *Undetermined*. Figs. 8, 9, and variants.

1. Quarterly, Fess (or bars), 3 lions. Sometimes with letters or annulets on fess, and/or date (or tower, or letters, or both) in base of shield; degenerated *toison d'or* below.
   Smith's Map of Virginia, *c.* 1610–12 (w. date 1610); Coryat: *Traveller* (?), 1611; Raleigh: *History*, 1614; Speed: *Genealogies*, *c.* 1615; Fynes Moryson: *Itinerary*, 1617; Purchas: *Pilgrimes*, 1625 (PG and tower); Norden: *Intended Guide*, 1625; Speed map, 1626; Hobbes: *Thucydides*, 1629; Camden: *Britannia*, 1637 (w. date 1627).

2. As above, but with the fess surmounted by a rose (?) in the first or second quarter; mostly with tower in base. Rarely the rose replaces the lion in one of the upper quarters, the fess remaining in the other.

Speed : *Genealogies*, 1634 (PD and tower ; PG and ditto) ;
Foxe : Arctic map, 1635 (PD and tower) ; Camden :
Britannia, 1637 (PG and tower ; also smaller, no tower,
AD or IP) ; Simson : *Map of Sallee*, 1637 (nothing in
base, I. Duran[d] below shield) ; Fuller : *Pisgah Sight*,
1650 (IP).

[In one or other form this design is among the most characteristic marks in
English books in the first half of the century, particularly between 1610 and
1640. It is evidently copied from one in use abroad both before and after
1600 (B. 1476–7), though the shield of Austria and Burgundy here placed
over all has dropped out in the copies,[1] and the tower, originally placed in the
base of the shield, is often omitted, esp. in form No. 1, or replaced by a date.
Some exx. at least are marks of the French family of Durand (of Angoulême?,
see B., p. 701), but the crudity of the design of some might suggest the work
of inexperienced makers, possibly in this country. Less common abroad, at
least after 1600, the mark occurs at Leiden in 1616–24 in Cluver's works on
ancient geography.

This mark seems to bear some relationship to B. 2291–2, which has also the
toison d'or below.]

Arms, Undetermined. (Per Bend, 3 fleurs-de-lis, 1 lion ; name
or letters below.) Fig. 10.

Camden : *Britannia*, 1637 (MIV or VIM, PM, MIS) ;
Fuller : *Pisgah Sight*, 1650 (I. Vaulegard) ; Newman :
Concordance, 1650 (D. Vaulegard ; — Chastel) ; Heylin :
Cosmographie, 1652 (MLP) ; Dugdale : *Warwickshire*,
1656 (D. Vaulegard) ; Ligon : *Barbados*, 1657 (MLP) ;
Shakespeare, 3rd folio, 1663 (DVL).

[Intermixed in Camden with Fig. 8 and in one ex. with the same initials,
suggesting a similar origin. The letters MLP appear with various other
marks in the mid seventeenth century and may perhaps be those of a French
maker with name beginning with ' Le ' (another common set is MDP).
DVL might conceivably stand for D. Vaulegard, but another member of
the family seems to have used the abbreviated form IVG, not IVL.]

[1] The foreign exx. seem to occur chiefly in Holland and Germany and the paper
is localized by B. in the region of the Middle Rhine. His No. 1476 comes very
near the coat borne by members of the House of Nassau about this time.

Arms, Undetermined. Fig. 7.

Camden : *Britannia,* 1637 ; Fuller : *Pisgah Sight,* 1650 ;
Heylin : *Cosmography,* 1652.

[For other undetermined arms, see end of list.]

Bend on Shield, fleur-de-lis above. See Arms, Strasburg.

Cirles, Three.

1. Crown or cross above, cross and/or letters within.
Rochester, 1651 (GEB) ; Clayton Papers, (Irish Deeds)
1656–8, (Printed petition) *c.* 1680 ; Tavernier : *Six
Voyages* (supplt.), 1680 (NE or ME).

[This mark (B. 6246) was much used at Genoa, side by side with the Genoa
arms (q.v.), but was copied also in the south (and west ?) of France, paper
so marked being used largely in Spain and Portugal and their colonies, and
in the Netherlands. The earlier specimens have a rough crown above, but
later this was replaced by a cross-crosslet. The former may be identified
with two of the papers near the end of the Bodleian list, one of which is
named ' pot Morlaix '.]

2. Cross above (another type).
Sturmy : *Mariner's Magazine,* 1684 (ILT in circles).

3. Other devices above.
Wheler : *Journey into Greece,* 1682 (fleuron above, IP) ;
Herbert : *King Henry VIII,* 1683 (three trefoils in line
above, possibly a crown ?) ; Sturmy : *Mariner's Magazine,*
1584 (rough fleur-de-lis above).

Crown.

1. Letters in panel below. Figs. 13, 14, 16.
Molineux map in Hakluyt, 1599–1600 (PR) ; Knolles :
History of the Turks, 1603 (DM, PM, IR) ; Coryatt :
Crambe, 1611 ; Jewell : *Works,* 1611 ; Raleigh : *History
of the World,* 1614 (ID) ; Eadmer : *Historia,* 1623
(IDC) ; Shakespeare, 1623 (IG, IDC, NLM) ; Purchas :
Pilgrimes, 1625 (IDC) ; Parkinson : *Paradisus,* 1629 (IC) ;

Hobbes : *Thucydides*, 1629 (VM or MV) ; May : *Henry II*, 1633 (NM).

[This style is common in English books in the early part of the century and may denote English-made paper, though somewhat similar forms are occasionally found in French books.]

2. Letters below, in panel, or with ornament between, often as countermarks to grapes (Figs. 15, 17).

Psalms in metre (Stationers' Co.), 1612 ; Rochester, 1625 (*G*C*) ; Camden : *Britannia*, 1637 (AC, PB, IB, AP, PPV) ; blank sheet, n.d. (PV) ; Boston, Mass., MS., 1638 (G*C).

[This style appears to be French, as it is found also in French books, and its association with the grapes confirms this attribution, as does the occasional position of the mark near the edge. A good many families of French paper-makers had names in V (Vigier, Vodoire, Vaisier, Varene, Vaslet, Vialatte, &c.) and were in business in the early seventeenth century (see Briquet). Similar letters in a panel are sometimes found below grapes, with no crown.]

3. Various.

Ligon : *Barbados* (ILP + grapes, Fig. 18) ; Symonson : *Map of Kent*, 1659 ; fly-leaf, n.d. (TV, heart between).

Crown, above panel with letters, grapes below.   Fig. 52.

Bradshaw letter, 1649 (CB) ; Clayton Papers (Irish document), 1666 (IP or IB).

[This type of mark, which is nearly allied to that of the grapes with letters and fleur-de-lis above (q.v.), is found in French books of the second half of the century, sometimes as countermark to another main mark, and the paper is no doubt French. 'Crowne' and 'Crowne Morlaix' papers appear in the Bodleian list, but associated with other marks.]

Crozier and Horn on Shield, some with names below.   Fig. 19.

Rochester MS., 1618 ; blank leaves in Burton : *Leicestershire*, 1622 or after ; e.p. in *Markham Book of Honour*, 1625 (GD) ; Canterbury MSS., 1627, 1636, and undated (one with P. Lamy below) ; Maryland Papers, 1629 ; MS., 1630 (GD) ; Buckingham Papers, 1633 ; Carpenter :

Geography, 1635; Mercator and Saltonstall: *Atlas*, 1637; Maryland Papers (Plowden Letter), 1639 (I. Durand below); Prynne on Laud's Trial, 1646; MS. signed Edward Hungerford and others, 1645 (I. Duran[d]); *Eikon Basilike*, 1649 (I. Duran?); Ligon: *Barbados*, 1657 (R. Clovard); Inigo Jones drawing, n.d. (I. Durand).

[Paper much used in England, both for books and writing, between 1620 and 1650, but made abroad. The mark is no doubt a derivative of the crozier on shield, so much used in Basel, and seems to have been adopted in Alsace and other districts bordering the Rhine (and possibly in other parts of France, as is suggested by the name Durand and the initials GD, for Gilles Durand). It has been recorded from Rouen (1615), Metz (1619), and Zwolle (1622) (see Heitz: *Les Filigranes avec la Crosse de Bâle*, Strasburg, 1904, nos. 99–101 and p. 9), and occurs in paper used in Holland in 1626 (with initials PD) and 1649 (Elzevir Press).]

Eagle, one-headed, in crowned shield. Letters below. Fig. 21.
Fuller: *Pisgah Sight*, 1650 (IGD); *Holy State*, 1652; Newman: *Concordance*, 1650; Semedo: *China*, 1655 (RDP); fly-leaf, *c.* 1656 (IGR); Ligon: *Barbados*, 1657 (RDP); fly-leaf, n.d. (RDP); Saxton: Map of England, reissue of *c.* 1650? (RGD).

[A mark apparently used for a limited period only, but by several makers. It is characterized especially by the crooks at the sides of the shield and sometimes in the crown. In a collection of Dutch papers there is a very similar mark (labelled *c.* 1650), but with two-headed eagle. The letters here are PDR, the first and last having been perhaps transposed accidentally. The letters IGR might conceivably stand for the French maker I. Giron, and RGD for R. Gavilard. Somewhat later (1685) a similar one-headed eagle is found within a serpentine border resembling that in Fig. 4, and with the letters MCO (? M. Conard.]

Eagle, two-headed, one crown over both heads. Fig. 20.
Burton: *Leicestershire*, 1622.

[Presumably a German mark, being of a type used at Kempten (Bavaria) and elsewhere. Paper with a closely similar mark has been found in use in Holland in 1623.]

Flag. Figs. 22, 23.

Townshend Papers, 1600 (+GB); Canterbury, 1602; Ditto, 1615 (GB3); Revel Books, 1636 (GB 3); Adm. Popham, Letter from before Lisbon, 1650; Inigo Jones drawing, n.d. (GB).

[According to B. (s.v. Etendard) the flag is exclusively Italian, and this is borne out for several of the above records by the countermark in the corner which points to Venice as the place of origin. The exx. of 1600 and 1602 are matched (apart from the letters with the former) by one recorded by B. from Styria, 1599.]

Fleur-de-lis.

1. With letters or name as countermark, more rarely below or at sides.

Shakespeare 1632 (heart below); Newman: *Concordance*, 1650 (letters below); Heylin: *Cosmography*, 1652 (heart below, Fig. 24); Speed's Atlas, 1666, 1676(+M. Lejune); Blome: *Geography*, 1670 (+CRO); Moxon map, *c.*1670–80 (+C. Rouse, Fig. 25); Ogilby: *China*, 1671 (+M. Loysel, MLO, MLP, MPP, IRO, RRO, PMD?; IDA?; 1674, Bible (Cambridge) (+PMD, Fig. 27); Seller: *English Pilot*, &c., 1675, 1677 (+M. Lejune, Fig. 28); Debes: Færoæ, 1676 (small, +PH, Fig. 26); Sturmy: *Mariner's Mag.*, 1684 (FG at sides); Chardin: *Travels*, 1686 (+PMD); Blome: *Gentleman's Recrn.*, 1686 (+I. Durand, vertical); Blome: *Geography*, 1693 (FG below); Beaumont, J.: *Considerations . . .*, 1693 (NP at sides); Ogilby: *Britannia*, 1698 (+PPRM or PLOM?).

[Commonly used throughout the century, towards the end of which it began to settle down into a stereotyped form. Earlier it took various forms not easy to classify. The names or initials of the makers seem mostly to be French, where the mark was naturally much used, and some of them are found also in books printed in France or Holland.]

2. Petals shaded, with countermark. Fig. 29.

'Quartermaster's', map, 1644 or after (+MLI ; +IN ?);
Porter : *Booke of Maps*, 1655 (+MLI); Symonson :
Map of Kent, before 1659 (+MLP); Stapylton's Juvenal,
1660 (+MLI); Description of 17 Provinces, after
1660; Blome : *Geography*, 1670 (+MLI); Ogilby :
China, 1671 (large paper ; +MLP; +MLO); id. :
Britannia, 1675 (+M. Lejune); Speed maps, 1676 (+M.
Lejune).

[A special form in use for some thirty years, mostly with the name or initials
of M. Lejune, pointing to French make. (The name is found somewhat later
among Huguenot emigrants to Carolina.) Could we suppose the letters
' Mr. Leie' to be an abbreviation of this name, we should have a clue to the
location of the mill as they are found in 1636 with the addition ' A Vitré '.
Lejune used also the more usual form of the fleur-de-lis (see above). The
date 1644 cannot be trusted implicitly as the map seems to have been
reissued later without change of date.]

3. As Fig. 30.

Yarranton map [1677]; fly-leaf, n.d.

[An unusual form, probably not long in use.]

Fleur-de-lis on Crowned Shield, usually with letters below.
A common mark in various forms, only the most important
of which can be figured here.

1. As Fig. 33, with variants.

Revel book, 1604–5 (4 WR) ; *c.* 1616, e.p. in Speed : *Theatre*
(4 WR) ; Harl. MS. 354, No. 74, 1620 (IF/M below) ;
Shakespeare, 1632 (? below, Fig. 33).

[This type is very commonly met with in Holland in the early seventeenth
century, but seems to have been used by various makers including Jean
Vaslet of the Nersac mill, Angoulême, and Jaques Folliot of Montbéliard,
whose initials appear in the ex. of 1620. The letters WR originally stood for
Wendelin Riehel of Strasburg.]

2. As Fig. 35, and variants.

Stapylton : *Juvenal*, 1660 ; [1] Ogilby : *Embassy to Japan*, 1670 (+MLP),[1] *Africa*, 1670, *Asia*, 1673 ; Scheffer : *Lapland*, Oxford, 1674 ; and many others (with or without the IHS and cross as countermark).

[This second style (with or without the IHS and cross) would appear to have replaced the first after about 1640, and is very common in Holland, less so in French books though apparently used by Angoulême makers. The general style is no doubt that of items 1, 2, 5–8, and 14 in the Bodleian list, the mark, as at present, being used for three different sizes. It became increasingly common towards the end of the century, and has persisted with little change to the present day. Further discussion may be postponed for the present.

3. With arched crown, as Fig. 31.

Butler MS. (Addit. 32625), *c.* 1665–75 ; fly-leaf, n.d. (REP in shield +REP near edge).

4. Style of Fig. 40, with variations.

Olearius-Mandelslo : *Voyages*, 1662 (+LP in heart) ; fly-leaf, 1655 or after (ditto) ; Shakespeare, 1663 (ditto) ; Struys : *Voyages*, 1684 (style uncertain) ; Blome : *Geography*, 1680–93 ; Blank leaf, n.d. (MDP in base of shield).

5. Style of Figs. 38, 39, with variations.

Shakespeare, 1663 (? PHO in base of shield ; Blome : *Jamaica*, 1672 (GM in shield, Fig. 39) ; Hooke : *Motion of Earth*, 1674 (MLP or MMP in base).

6. Square shield, crown as Fig. 37.

Rochester MS., 1657 ; Clayton MS., 1666 ; Butler MS., *c.* 1670.

7. Square shield, crown as Fig. 3.

News-letter, 1676 (+FA) ; Clayton MS., 1678 (+AP) ; legal paper, *c.* 1690 (+ACH vertical) ; Le Fleming letter, Rydal, 1699 ; e.p. of English book, after 1602 (+PC).

[1] The crown differs somewhat from the type in these two examples.

8. Shield as Fig. 32.

Clayton MS., 1662 ; Tavernier : *Voyages*, 1678–80 ; Butler
   MS., *c.* 1670–80 ; Maryland Papers, 1680–81 ; Rochester
   MS., 1698.

9. Miscellaneous. Figs. 34, 36.

Eikon, 1648 (flowers or trefoils in shield, ornament below
   same) ; ditto and blank fly-leaf, n.d. (F. or H. Bulay [1]
   below) ; Blome : *Geography*, 1693 (IG below) ; Fryer :
   Travels, 1698 (rose in centre of crown, mark horizontal).

[Many more data are needed before these several types can be localized, and
more than one may have been used by the same maker, as they appear to
have some mutual affinities, and some recall marks with other devices. The
shield of No. 8, e.g., closely resembles that used in the horn (Fig. 66). Some
of the initials too, e.g. MLP, PHO, ACH, are found with other marks, and
most of the papers are probably French. Nos. 6 and 7 are commonly met
with in Holland, but this need not argue a Dutch origin, though the initials
of Gillis van Hoevel have been found under the shield of No. 7.]

Flower (rose ?), often with stalk and leaves. Letters below.
   Figs. 41–3.

Smith : *Virginia*, 1624 (small, Fig. 41) ; King : *Vale Royal*,
   1656 (MLO) ; Blome : *Geography*, 1680 (stalk missing,
   Fig. 43) ; e.p. in Hakluyt (Pepys Library, MLC below) and
   Moxon : *Tutor*, 1674.

[Flowers in various forms are often found in France, but the above have so
far been met with only in English books. If the letters MLO are elsewhere
rightly ascribed to M. Loysel, the form shown in Fig. 42 would certainly
seem to be French.]

——, *in band*. Fig. 44.

Blome : *Britannia*, 1670 (ILT below) ; Ogilby : *Britannia*,
   1698 (ILT above or below).

[The same initials occur with the arms of France and Navarre, almost cer-
tainly a French mark.]

[1] A family named Boulet worked a mill at Divonne in this century (see Briquet,
pp. 278, 280).

——, *in shield*. Fig. 45.

   Raleigh : *History*, 1677 (+RRO) ; e.p. in Ashmole : *Garter*,
      1672 or after (+RRO).

   [The same initials are found with other marks, e.g. with Fig. 4.]

Fool's cap. Figs. 46–8.

   For convenience this mark may be divided into two main
      groups according as the cap has five or seven points.
      In the Bodleian list five sorts, all nearly the same size, bear
      the name in one form or another, three being associated
      with the French ports of shipment, Caen, Morlaix, and
      La Rochelle,[1] while a fourth has a French name in the
      watermark and the fifth is labelled Dutch. It is not
      easy to say what form of the mark originally belonged
      to each, and, as listed, three sorts bear a different mark
      altogether.

   1. 5-Point.

   (*a*) As Fig. 46, usually with letters as countermark.
   Saxon Dictionary, Oxford, 1659 ; Porter : *Plan of London*
      (2nd issue), *c*. 1660 (+CP) ;[2] Aeschylus, 1664 (+DV,
      CP,[2] IP or IIP) ; Blome : *Britannia*, 1673 (+GPO,
      PHO) ; Herbert : *Travels*, 1664 (+G. Ganne) ; Hooke :
      Movement of Earth, 1674 (+GCH) ; Moxon : *Tutor to
      Astronomy*, 1674 (+MM ; + ?) ; E. Brown : *Travels*,
      1677 (+ ?) ; Herbert : *Travels*, 1677 (+GPO, RPO,
      MDP, RP, I. Ganne) ; Tavernier : *Travels*, 1678 (+
      MDP ?, GPO) ; Morden : *Geography*, 1680 (+GLM,
      NRO, . . . asrond ?) ; Knox : *Ceylon*, 1681 (+ICO) ;
      E. Brown : *Travels*, 1685 (+PQV) ; Thévenot : *Travels*,

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   [1] La Rochelle was no doubt the port from which paper from Angoulême was
shipped.
   [2] The mark also occurs with these letters in Olearius, Schleswig, 1656.

1687 (RR or RB ?); Milton: *Paradise Lost*, Tonson, 1695
(+MPX = Pallix).

[The commonest form in English books of the second half of the century,
being oftener met with (at least before 1680) than the 7-point. This form
seems to be rarer abroad, but as it is found in Holland (and even in Schleswig,
1647, 1654, 1656–8) there can be little doubt of its foreign origin. Earlier,
the fool's cap appears in a less crude form, with the personal marks of the
Basel makers, but it must soon have been widely copied. The names L. and
G. Ganne seem to be French, the DV, ICO, and MPX may stand for the
French makers Vaulegard, Conard, and Pallix respectively. A specimen from
Amsterdam, 1688, has as countermark the name of another French maker,
A. Durand.]

(*b*) Various. One as Fig. 47.

Slender. Blagrave map, '1596'; Blome: *Britannia*, 1673
  (+GPO); Moxon: *Tutor* . . . , 1674.

Small, no countermark ? Blome: *Britannia*, 1673; Roches-
  ter, 1661, Fig. 47; Della Valle: *Travels*, 1665 (map only).[1]

Large, with waved points. Fryer: *Travels*, 1698 (R below);
  Leybourne: *Institutiones*, 1704 (+B).[2]

[Most at least of the above seem also to denote foreign papers.]

2. 7-point.

(*a*) Points long, mostly with 4 below, letters (rarely name) as
  countermark or below. Fig. 48.

Aeschylus, 1664 (+Dieuaydé); Clayton MSS., *c.* 1673 and
  1680; Plot: *Oxfordshire*, 1677 (+Jean Dieuaydée);
  E. Brown: *Travels*, 1685 (+IDM); Chardin: *Travels*,
  1686 (+VI or IV; +IT; GI below); Thévenot:
  Levant, 1687; Morden: *Geography*, 1693 (unusual form);
  Gordon: *Geography*, 1693; Milton: *Poems*, 1695 (Ton-
  son); and others after 1700.

[This form is very commonly met with in Holland, and was adopted, among
others, by the Dutch makers Pieter van der Ley and Gillis van Hoeven, as

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[1] A similar form occurs at Amsterdam, 1667.
[2] Found also at Leiden the same year.

is shown by its association with their monograms. But much of the paper bearing it was certainly French, as indicated by the name Dieuaidé,[1] and by the initials AD, GD, PD often seen with the mark and probably referring to members of the Durand family. The initials ET found with one specimen (Amsterdam, 1676) are probably those of Etienne Touzeau, who worked mills in the Angoumois in the 'seventies and is known to have used the mark of the fool's cap (Briquet, pp. 695, 699). There was a maker I. (or J.) de Michel in the Angoumois in the eighteenth century, and the letters IDM may perhaps stand for this man, or an earlier member of the same family.]

(*b*) Points shorter, 4 replaced by a triangle.

Moxon : *Tutor to Astronomy*, 1674 ; Milton : *Paradise Lost*, 1695 (Tonson) (+HG) ; *Thesaurus Geogr.*, 1695 ; Evelyn : *Medals*, 1697 (+RB); Fryer : *Travels*, 1698 (+W) ; Churchill : *Voyages*, 1704 (+HK) ; Hooke : *Posthumous Works*, 1705.

[Perhaps only a temporary variant of the more usual form. The initials HG occur also with the Amsterdam arms, fleur-de-lis, horn, &c.]

Grapes.

1. No letters or countermark.

Petavius: *History*, 1659; Olearius: *Travels*, 1662; Rochester MS., *c*. temp. Charles II ; Sanson, *Persia*, 1695 ; Faria y Sousa : *Portugues Asia*, 1695.

2. With letters (rarely names) above or below, some with crown above. (See also Crown.) Figs. 50–53, 55.

Camden : *Britannia*, 1607 (MC, ALA, and crn.) ; *Common Prayer* (Barker), 1609 (crown); *Psalms*, 1612 (SH and crn.) ; Caus : *Perspective*, 1612 (MP) ; Geneva Bible, 1615 (Barker) ; (ALA and crn., Fig. 53 ; BG, AG, and crn., SM and crn.) ; Speed : *Theatrum*, 1616 (BC, Fig. 50) ; Lambeth MS. 1617 (IC ?); Speed : *Theatre* and *Prospect*, 1627–31 (IR) ; Clayton MSS., 1628, 1632 ; Camden : *Britannia*, 1637 (BI) ; Herbert : *Travels*, 1638

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[1] Briquet (p. 710) mentions a Jean Dieuayde of Nanthiat in Dordogne in the eighteenth century.

(IVG, IBG, GLD, all with leaves, Fig. 51); Common-
wealth MS., 1649 (IR and crescent);[1] Inigo Jones draw-
ing, n.d. (I. Vaulegard, with leaf); Stapylton: *Juvenal*,
1660 (RO); Speed's Atlas, 1666 (I. Durand, with leaf,
Fig. 55); Blome: *Gentleman's Recreation*, 1686 (I. Durand);
Milton: *Sampson Agon.*, 1688 (MLP); Ogilby: *Britannia*,
1698 (I. Durand, with leaf).

3. With fleur-de-lis above (sometimes with bar and letters).
   Camden: *Britannia*, 1607 (CB and bar, Fig. 49); Speed:
   Theatre and *Prospect*, 1627–31; Bible, Cambridge, 1638
   (PH, Fig. 54).

   [With CB and bar, in a slightly different form, this occurs in a Paris book of
   1609. A minute ex. without bar or letters is found in another of 1629. With
   letters in a panel below the fleur-de-lis the mark is also found in French
   books of the period, and the form in the Bible of 1638 is exactly matched
   in Paris books of 1643 and 1648, so there is little doubt of its French
   provenance. The initials PH are found with many other French marks, but
   usually a good deal later.]

4. With crown and letters as countermark. Fig. 17.
   Camden: *Britannia*, 1637 (PB, IB, AP, PPV, AC).

   [An unusual combination of two marks, both used also separately. Being
   placed nearer the edge of the sheet than usual, they may be perhaps assigned
   to the same group as the letters figured as Nos. 149–50 (March number),
   regarded as from S. France. A specimen with the letters AB, recorded by
   Briquet from Lyon, 1630, confirms this attribution.]

5. With name or letters as countermark. Figs. 56–8.
   Camden: *Britannia*, 1607 (A. Gouton); Geneva Bible
   (Barker), 1615 (? letters); Speed: *Theatrum*, 1616 (MPPP,
   P. Quemet); id., *Theatre* and *Prospect*, 1627–31 (AIR,
   AC ?, P. Quemet); Quartermaster's map, 1644 or after
   (PRO); Adrichom: *Jerusalem*, 1647 (I. Guesdon);

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[1] A crescent between initials or between initial and name seems to have been
a personal mark of the Richards of Auvergne. It is still found in the eighteenth
century.

Speed : undated map (R. Guesdon) ; Milton, common-place book (ditto) ; fly-leaves to Speed : *Theatre* (Robert Grivel) ; Stapylton : *Juvenal*, 1660 (MLO ? PRO, GP) ; Olearius : *Travels*, 1662 (PRO) ; Blome : *Britannia*, 1670 (MLP, IRO) ; Ogilby-Montanus : *Atlas Japanensis*, 1670 (PHO) ; id. *China*, 1671 (large, with leaves, G. Lelandais) ; I. Gane ; Bible, Cambridge, 1674 (MDP or MLP) ; Raleigh : *History*, 1677 (MDP, IBP) ; *England's Improvement*, 1677 (PHO) ; Petty : *Ireland*, 1683 ? (I. Jobert) ; Milton : *Paradise Lost* (Bentley), 1688 (M. Lejune, C. Rouse, or Rousel ? I. Conard) ; *Casuistical . . . Exercises*, 1690 (M. Lieune) ; Ogilby : *Britannia*, 1698 (Company) ; Misson : *New Voyage*, 1699 (JB) ; Hennepin : *New Discovery*, 1699 (AG).

[The typically French mark of the grapes is found in English books (more often, it seems, than in MSS.) throughout the century, and the paper no doubt came from various districts. In the earlier decades the form with letters above or below continued to be the most common, but gave place later to those with name or letters as countermark, found sparingly also in the early part of the century or even before 1600, those quoted by B. (Nos. 13207–18) being mostly from the south of France. The combination MLO may stand for M. Loysel, whose name appears both in full and abbreviated with the mark of the fleur-de-lis (q.v.). As with the 'posts', combinations ending in RO are common, and may refer to members of the Rouse family. MLP and MDP (found with other marks also) are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Both suggest French names in either ' Le ' or ' De '. According to Heitz (*Les Filigranes avec la Crosse de Bâle*, p. 13, No. 207), there was a maker C. Guédon at Ste Croix in Alsace at an unspecified date and the R. and I. Guesdon recorded above may have been members of the same family. R. Guesdon's name appears also in an English book of 1637 with the mark of two lions on a shield (Fig. 69). In the Bodleian list a large paper marked with the grapes is designated ' Lumbard ', probably because the early French makers took the mark originally from Lombardy. The ' bunch of grapes leaved ' of the sixteenth item in the list, with 'a long name' as countermark, may perhaps refer to the ex. of 1671 of group 5 above, with the name G. Lelandais. The mark appears also in the list on papers of other sorts and sizes.]

Hand or Glove.

Coverte : *True Report*, 1614 (trefoil above) ; John Taylor :
Works, 1630; (fleuron above); Rochester MS., 1650 (crown
above, letters below, Fig. 59).

[After taking a foremost place in the previous two centuries, this mark drops
out almost completely after 1600.]

Harp. Fig. 60.

Bacon : *Henry VII*, 1622 (GC or GG below) ; Knight :
Vale Royal, 1656 (+ IGD) ; blank sheet, n.d. (GG below).

[The paper is apparently French, the letters GG possibly standing for
G. Ganne, or else for G. Gouault of Troyes, marks used by whom in 1642 are
quoted by Le Clert (p. 337). Another mark in the *Vale Royal*—the horn as in
Fig. 62—has the same letters IGD, and as the same device has sometimes
I. GIROU below, it may be that the letters stand for the same name, in the
form Giroud. There was, however, a contemporary maker named Gavilard
(see Arms, France and Navarre, *supra*).]

Hat, Cardinal's. Fig. 61.

Rochester MS., 1649 ; *Eikon Basilike*, 1649 (Almack, 43) ;
Petavius : *History*, 1659 ; Shipping Papers (Clayton
MSS.), 1660 (MLI ?) ; Butler MS., *c.* 1660–70 (IRO ?
Fig. 61).

[As the Cardinal's hat is frequently mentioned as a standard French mark,
and is found in French books in a form somewhat similar to the above, it is
probable that these exx. are French, especially if the letters on two of them
are rightly read as MLI and IRO (Lejune and Rouse ?).]

Horn in ornamental border. Fig. 63.

MS. law-book, *c.* 1650 ; MS. title to Pepys's book of maps,
1666 ; MS. of 13 Charles II ; Beverege : *Inst. Chronol.*,
1669 ; Clayton MS. 1673 ; Letter-book of H. Coventry,
1674 (+ MCMD) ; Butler MS., *c.* 1670–80 (various ; one
+ IPHP ; Le Fleming MS. (Rydal), 1675 ; Clayton
Paper (printed), 1680 or after ; MS. of *c.* 1680–90
(+ RDTI) ; Maryland Paper, 1682 (+ PDPI ?) ; legal

document, 1683 ; Sturmy : *Mariner's Mag.*, 1684 (HC
or HG below) ; Clayton MS., 1688 (+IL) ; Bowrey
MS., 1690 (HG below) ; Petty : *Ireland, c.* 1693 (HC or
DH below) ; Lexington MSS., 1694–5 (HG below ;
+I. VILLEDARY) ; *Articles of Peace*, 1697 (HG below) ;
Moxon : *Brief Discourse*, 1697 ; Ogilby : *Britannia*, 1698
(+monogram PVL) ; Bowrey MS., 1706 (+LL) ; Tei-
xera : *Travels*, 1711 ; Leybourne : *Surveyor*, 1722 (+M) ;
Tasman MS., n.d. (+IVT).

[A common mark in England in the second half of the century, more frequent
in MSS. than books. Probably used, with almost no variation, by makers in
different districts. The monogram of Pieter van der Ley shows it to have
been used in Holland, and the initials IVT sometimes found may refer to the
Dutch maker Jan van Til. The name Villedary points to its use at Angoulême,
and the LL may refer to Leonard Laroche of the same district, who is known
to have used the mark of the horn. The paper was usually of first quality and
specimens with MCMD occur in dispatches from British representatives at
Hamburg and Amsterdam in the last decade of the century. An ex. from
a Dutch book of 1729 has the countermark Vorno, an Italian place-name
given to a village near Lucca. The mark is less common after 1700, but
was revived by at least one English maker in the nineteenth century. This
mark, usually found on smallish paper, is no doubt the ' horn bordered ' of
various items in the Bodleian list.]

—— —— (another style). Fig. 67.
Quaker letter, *c.* 1665 (Rydal Hall Papers).

[An uncommon form.]

Horn in Crowned Shield.

1. Style of Fig. 66, mostly with 4 WR below.
MS. in Pepys Library, 1664 or after (AJ below) ; letter
from Madras, 1666 ; Clayton MSS., 1666, 1673 ; legal
document, 1678 ; Charles II letter, 1681 (Maryland
Papers) ; Ovington : *Voyage to Surat*, 1689 ; Blome :
Geography, 1693 ; Lexington MSS., 1694–7, &c. (some
+HD, SH vertical, TI, &c.) ; Chardin letter, 1699–1700 ;
e.p. in Speed's Atlas, 1676, with MS. date 1719 (+C.

Blanchard ; +F. Bur) ; e.p. in Italian book of 1695, owned in England, 1696 (J. Honig and Zoon below, +HR) ; and many from eighteenth century.

[Although the horn, both alone and in a shield,[1] was a common mark even before 1600, it was not till well on in the seventeenth century that the form with the crown above the shield came into general use. This is often met with in Holland and elsewhere from about 1660. For a time the style varied, but it soon took the stereotyped form which has persisted to the present day. Whether the letters WR imply that it was first used by the successors of Wendelin Riehel of Strasburg is an open question, but it was adopted in various French mills, including those of the Angoulême district worked by Dutch capital, for the initials AJ are probably those of the Dutch merchant Abraham Janssen who had interests there. (Antoine Jolly was another Angoulême man with the same initials.) The local records also speak of the ' cornet ' as a mark of paper made in that region. The initials HD are almost certainly those of a French maker (Durand ?), for after 1695 they occur with the addition VE, standing no doubt for *Veuve*. In the eighteenth century the mark was used by the Dutch makers, Van der Ley, Van Gerrevink, Honig, &c., and in this country by Whatman and others. Much of the paper was of excellent quality, and was used both for books and MS. work. A good deal is met with in Government documents of the last decade of the century included in the Lexington Papers dispersed early in 1929, some being gilt-edged. Two different sizes bear this mark in the Bodleian list (items 9 and 13), the larger named ' Medium ', the smaller ' Large Horn '. (For the style of the shield cf. Fig. 32.)]

2. Other styles.

Heylin : *Cosmography*, 1652 (RC ? below, Fig. 64) ; Newsletter (Rydal Hall), 1676 (HG below) ; Rochester MS., 1679 ; Plot : *Staffordshire*, Oxford, 1686 (ILBB or ILRB ? in shield, Fig. 65).

[The form of the shield in the ex. of 1676 recalls that in Fig. 35. The others are of a much cruder style than usual.]

Horn in Wreath, crown above, letters or name below. Fig. 62.

Saltonstall : Mercator, 1639 (IGD) ; King : *Vale Royal*, 1656 (IGD) ; Bacon : *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1658 (I. GIROV) ;

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[1] In an uncrowned shield (as B. 7862) it occurs sparingly in England (more often abroad) round 1600.

Petavius : *History*, 1659 (I. GIROU) ; Maryland MS., 1659 (IGA).

[A mark apparently used for a short period only. The letters IGD (which suggest that the name Girou may sometimes have been written Giroud) occur also in the *Vale Royal* as countermark to the harp (q.v.).]

Letter L., crowned. Fig. 68.

Ligon : *Barbados*, 1657.

[There can be little doubt that this stands for King Louis, and that the paper is French, the crowned L being found, mostly smaller, in French books of the period, one ex. having the frequently recurring initials G.G. There is no indication that it was used at all commonly in England.]

Lions, Two, combatant, on shield. Fig. 69.

Camden : *Britannia*, 1637 (R. Guesdon below) ; Newman : *Concordance*, 1650 (same name ?).

[On Guesdon see under Grapes.]

Mace (or Pillar ?) with crown. Fig. 71.

Apocrypha, c. 1660, bound with Prayer Book of that date, large folio (+DV).

[The mace or sceptre is found in French books and elsewhere abroad, but in a different form. The initials DV suggest once more the French maker D. Vaulegard.]

Posts, Two, with grapes, letters, &c. between.

1. Small, usually with balls above posts. Fig. 70.

Rochester, 1623 ; Maryland, 1631 ; Clayton (Irish document), 1632 (GAV) ; ditto, 1633 (date 1629 ; RDP) ; Canterbury, 1633 (IG) ; Herbert : *Travels*, 1634 (IG, &c.) ; Saltonstall's Mercator, 1635, 1637 (?) ; Carpenter : *Geography*, 1635 (IS ?) ; Blount : *Levant* (IM) ; Revel Book, 1636 (IG) ; Prayer Book, Edinburgh, 1637 ; undated MSS., *c.* 1633 ? (RDP, IDB, GIB, GPD ? date 1629, date 1632) ; Inigo Jones drawings, n.d.

2. Small, various. Figs. 72, 73.

One crown above—Herbert : *Travels*, 1634.

Crown above each post, fleur-de-lis, &c. between—Rochester, 1636 ; ditto, grapes with leaves between—Bacon : *Henry VII*, 1641.

Trefoils above posts, flower and ID between—MS. of 1676.

Serpents round posts—Herbert : *Travels*, 1634 ; Rochester, 1635.

3. Medium or Large. Figs. 74, 75.

Fuller : *Holy Warre*, 1647, *Holy State*, 1652 (IGG) ; *Sir F. Drake Revived*, 1652 (IP) ; Cogan's Pinto, 1653 (?) ; Ligon : *Barbados*, 1657 (ARO) ; Petavius : *History*, 1659 (IIN ? RGD) ; Worcester Cathedral MS., 1664 (CC) ; Della Valle : *Travels*, 1665 (IGNE) ; Newcourt : MS. Plan of London, *c.* 1667 (CAB) ; Ogilby letter, Rydal Hall, 1671 (CAB) ; Blome : *Jamaica*, 1672 (MO ?) ; Ligon : *Barbados*, 1673 (PQR[1]) ; Blome : *Geography*, 1680–93 (+IP) ; Sturmy : *Mariner's Mag.*, 1684 (Chastel) ; Webb drawing, n.d. (PRO) ; Sheffield Court Roll, n.d. (CAB) ; loose sheet, n.d. (PDC).

[A mark which makes its appearance in the 'twenties, and becomes particularly common, in the smaller form, in the next decade. Later its size increases. Like other marks of the time, it recalls earlier forms used abroad, e.g. the two pillars crowned, or the gateway flanked by towers, thought to denote possibly the arms of Epinal (B. 15965–72). In the present form it is not commonly met with abroad, at least not in books, but exx. occur in books printed at Lisbon in 1647 and Havre, 1731, while the English ex. of 1684 bears the French name Chastel (also found with the mark, Fig 4). Some of the initials seem also to be French, those ending RO, found with various other marks, having possible reference to the family of Rouse, a name also met with in full. IG or IGNE may stand for I. Ganne, but there were other makers with the same initials, e.g. Jean Gros of Perigord (B., p. 711). This seems enough to establish the foreign (probably French) origin of some at

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[1] The same combination is found on the pot in Della Valle, 1665.

least of the paper. I have elsewhere suggested that this mark may be the true origin of ' post ' paper, since ' post ' and ' horn ' are spoken of as distinct kinds in a letter from Madras, 1666, written on paper with the horn as Fig. 66. This mark may be identified with some probability with the ' Caen Pillar ' of the Bodleian list (item 44). It is worthy of note that the term ' post ' nowhere occurs in that list.]

Pot or Jug.

This was perhaps the commonest mark in England in the seventeenth century, and its forms are so various that a special article would be needed to do justice to them. Only the most typical can be dealt with here.

A. *One-handled*.

1. Style of Fig. 169, March number.

Rochester, 1604–7–9–11–18 (crescent or fleuron above; various letters); Dyer: *Novel Cases*, 1603 (crescent above; P/RA).

[This particular style dies out soon after 1600, being no doubt replaced at the same mills by slightly different forms.]

2. Style of Fig. 76 and variants (crescent or fleuron above, crescent or fleur-de-lis in neck).

Townshend MS., 1607 (RB); Cotgrave: *Dictionary*, 1611 (PI); Rochester, 1611–12 (I/FO); Sandys: *Travels*, 1615; Smith: *Virginia*, 1624 (IC); John Taylor: *Workes*, 1630 (DP); Buckingham MS., 1633 (AV).

[The style of the cover recalls that of various exx. recorded by B. from before 1600, assigned by him as a rule to Champagne.]

3. Style of Fig. 77.

Whitbourne: *Newfoundland*, 1620 (GL); Gunter: *Works*, 1623–4 (HM); Markham: *Weald*, 1625 (GL ?); *Psalms*, 1627 (—D); John Taylor: *Workes*, 1630 (GL); Salton-stall-Mercator Atlas, 1637 (IP)

[Perhaps only a variant of the previous form.]

4. Style of Fig. 78.

Gunter: *Works*, 1623–4 (CC, IP, PS): Smith: *Virginia*, 1624 (I/LV); Buckingham-Clayton MS., 1633 (G/RO); Saltonstall-Mercator Atlas, 1637 (VA or AV); *Sir F. Drake revived*, 1652–3 (IG or GG); Ligon: *Barbados*, 1657 (I/DP or I/LP); Olearius: *Travels*, 1662 (I/PP ?); and others.

5. Style of Fig. 80.

Harl. MS., 1046, after 1623 (L/LO);[1] Milton: *Tetrachordon*, 1645;[1] Prynne on Laud, 1644–6 (D/VI, &c.); Clayton MS., 1646 (I/GO); Cromwell letter, 1650 (C/AB); Ferrer map, 1651 (G/AD); Semedo: *China*, 1655 (I/LP, D/DB ? M/AV ?); Heylin: *Travels in France*, 1656 (N/DR, G/RO); Ligon: *Barbados*, 1657 (I/BV); Scheffer: *Lapland*, Oxford, 1674 (D/DB ?); blank sheet, n.d. (I/QG);[2] and others.

6. Style of Fig. 81.

Wright: *Errors*, 1657 (O/BA); Vere: *Commentaries*, Cambridge, 1657 (N/RO); Olearius: *Voyages*, 1662 (R/RO, P/PR ?); *Tangier and Fez*, 1664 (N/LM); Della Valle, 1665 (P/QR); Markham: *Masterpiece*, 1668 (PCD or PCL); Beverege: *Inst. Chronol.*, 1669 (EC/H); Butler MS., *c.* 1670–80 (I/GL); Blome: *Jamaica*, 1672 (IP/R, D/—A); Wych: *Nile*, sm. 8vo, 1673 (M/—I); Scheffer: *Lapland*, 1674 (F/PR ?); and others.

7. Style of Fig. 82.

Olearius and Mandelslo: *Travels*, 1662 (N/PO); blank sheet, n.d. (M/LP).

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[1] In these the cresting has three and one balls alternately.
[2] The cresting has seven lobes, with one and three balls alternately.

8. Various.

As Fig. 79. Markham : *Weald of Kent,* 1625.

As Fig. 80, and variants. Clayton, 1617 (P/DC) ; Rochester, 1618, 1622 (P/DC, F/BB) ; Townshend, 1627 (PD/C) ; Maryland, 1632.

As Fig. 84. Sandys : *Travels,* 1615 (some with M) [and many others which cannot be included here].

B. *Two-handled.*

1. Grapes ? and mostly crescent, above. Figs. 86–8.

Brereley : *Protest. Apology,* 1608 ; Florio : *Ital. Dictionary,* 1611 (fleur-de-lis on bulb) ; Coryat : *Traveller,* 1616 ; Abbot : *Brief Description,* 1620 ; Gunter : *Works,* 1623–4 ; Fale : *Dialling,* 1627 (GG) ; Capel letter, Bodmin, *c.* 1649 (larger than usual, MB on bulb) ; MacConnor : *Letter,* 1642 (unusual ; PC) ; Petavius, *History,* 1659 (PC) ; Butler MS., *c.* 1665–70 (PC) ; Clayton MS. (Irish), 1662 (ITI) ; Rochester, 1663 (BC).

2. Crown and Cross above. Fig. 85.

Rochester, 1623 (IL) ; Gunter : *Works,* 1623–4 (GG) ; Jesuit Press (Birchley ?), n.d. (IL).

3. Style of group A. 4.

Smith : *True Travels,* 1630 (RP) ; Carpenter : *Geography,* 1635 (IG) ; Ligon : *Barbados,* 1657 (POV ?)

4. Style of group A. 5.

Prynne on Laud, 1644 (R— —) ; Semedo : *China,* 1655 (G/LM) ; Petavius : *History,* 1659 (I/DN ?).

5. As Fig. 89.

Good News from Ireland, 1645 ; Weston : *Husbandry in Brabant,* 1652.

6. As Briquet, p. 711.

Smith : *True Travels,* 1630.

7. Various, mostly small.

Heywood : *Troia Brit.*, 1609 ; Spenser, *Faery Queen*, 1609 (Fig. 90); *Works*, 1611–13 ; Abbot: *Brief Description*, 1620 (one as Fig. 178, March number); Gunter: *Works*, 1623–4 (one as Fig. 91) ; *Psalms*, 1627 (cresting, fleuron, and crescent above, P on bulb); Markham : *Weald*, 1631 (RO); Carpenter : *Geography*, 1635 ; Plan of London, *c.* 1640 (RO ?); Irish Tract, 1641, and Clayton, 1646 (H).

[The mark of the pot, jug, or flagon, so commonly met with before 1600, maintains its pre-eminence in England throughout most of the seventeenth century, but appears suddenly to drop out of use about 1675. It seems to be much more often found in English than in French books and very few examples are recorded by Le Clert as used by Troyes makers after 1600,[1] and only one by Ataide e Mello (*O papel*, Lisbon, 1926) as met with by him at Lisbon. It might be supposed that some at least of the paper so marked was made in this country, but the bulk would seem still to have come from northern and western France, as ' Rochel ', ' Caen ', and ' Morlaix ' pots figure among the sorts listed in the Bodleian document of 1674. One form at least (B. 6 above) appears to be the mark of an Angoulême maker, possibly exported from La Rochelle. The styles met with are very varied, and generally different from those in use before 1600, but some are no doubt merely developments from the earlier forms. Fairly small in the early part of the century, the size tends to increase after about 1645, though the small two-handled form of Fig. 87, particularly common between *c.* 1620–40, seems to have come into favour again about 1660. Although, following Briquet, we have made a broad distinction between forms with one and two handles, the addition of the second has in many cases apparently no special significance, as the style often closely agrees otherwise.

In the Bodleian list the term pot has become well established as denoting a quite small-sized paper, as was no doubt the case with the mark itself in earlier times, and in this the modern usage merely conforms to the old.]

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[1] A single ex. (1676) of the style of Fig. 81, with the letters NB on the bulb, is attributed by Le Clert (p. 180 and Fig. 14) to Nicolas Bernard of Mussy-sur-Seine. This is hardly sufficient to justify the attribution of this type in general to that region.

Saint with Cross, on shield. Fig. 92.

   Saxton's Atlas, n.d.

   [The copy of the Atlas containing this is possibly a reprint of after 1600. The mark is Italian, in use from about 1570 to well on in the seventeenth century (B. 7627–9).]

Sphere. (Style of Fig. 188, March number.)

   Heywood : *Troia Britan.*, 1609 (LL, PD) ; Bacon MS., Addit. 41140, 1623 (ED).

   [A type of mark assigned to SW. France, an attribution supported by its occurrence in books printed at Lisbon. But one of the Morlaix papers in the Bodleian list is marked with a ' mond ' and the letters ED, which would seem to be identical with that recorded above under 1623.]

Sword and Crown. Fig. 93.

   Speed's *Theatre* and *Prospect*, 1650–62 (+PRO, +AD) ; Prayer Book (large folio), 1660 (+AD) ; Stapylton : *Juvenal*, 1660 (+ADH ; also in variant form) ; Newcourt : MS. plan of London, *c.* 1667 ; Quartermaster's map, after 1644 (+AD).

   [A mark apparently current for a short period only. As elsewhere, the initials PRO may stand for one of the Rouse family, and AD for A. Durand.]

Wyvern (Fig. 94). See Arms, Basel.

Undetermined.

   Fig. 95. Saxton's large map of England, issue of *c.* 1650.
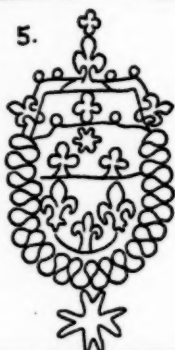   Fig. 96. Fuller : *Holy State*, 1652 ; Petavius, 1659.
   Fig. 97. Petavius : *History*, 1659.
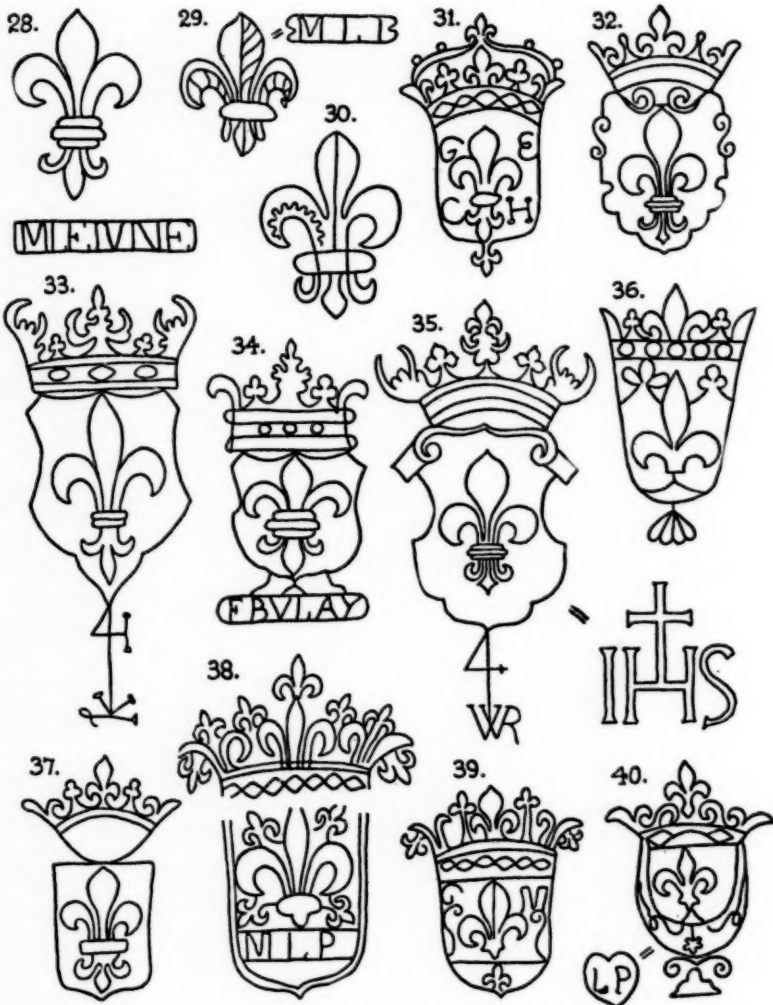   Fig. 98. *Faithfull Surveyor*, 1659.

Conclusions. The available evidence points to northern and western France as the main sources of supply to this country down to about 1680 at least. Conclusions based on the French names or initials of makers are confirmed by the names given to many of the sorts in the Bodleian list, which speaks of them as from Caen, Morlaix, or La Rochelle. There is no indication
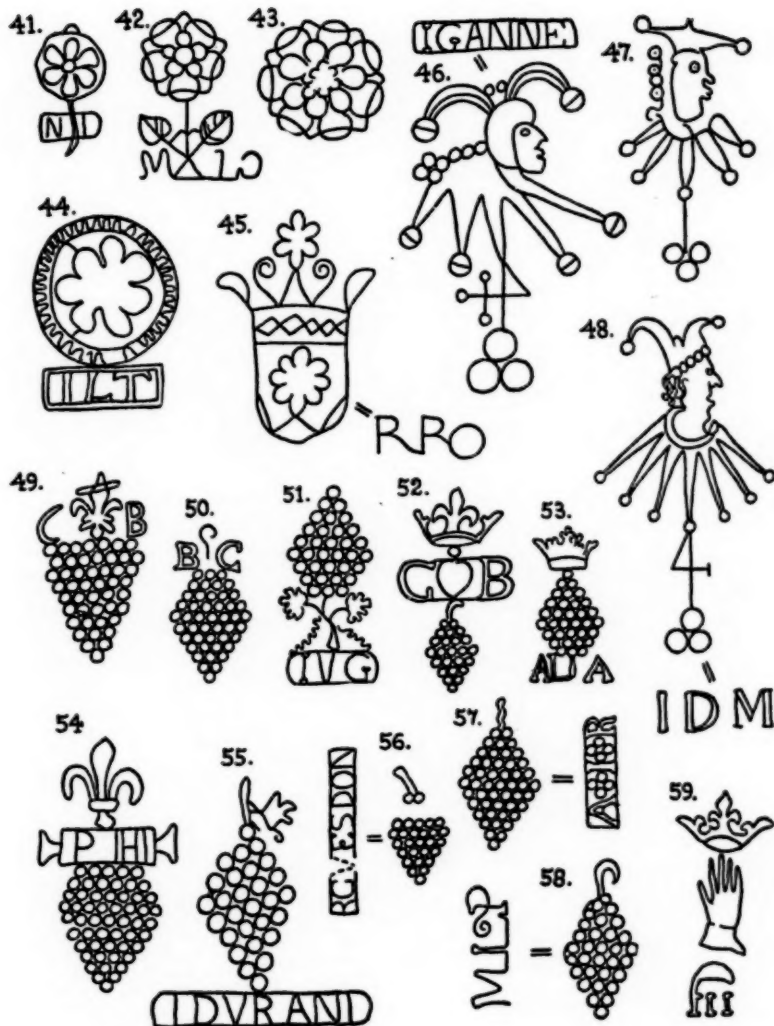
of any large use of English-made paper, in spite of the attempts
to develop the industry in this country recorded by Mr. Rhys
Jenkins (*Library Assoc. Record*, vol. 2, 1900). None of the
makers there mentioned can be identified by initials commonly
found in the watermarks, and the statement of Fuller that
paper was not made in this country seems justified so far as
concerns paper of high quality. After 1600 there is less evi-
dence of the use of Swiss or German paper in England than was
found in the sixteenth century. A certain supply seems to have
come in from Holland towards the end of the century, as is
shown both by the mention of Dutch paper in the Bodleian
list and by the monograms of Dutch makers referred to above
under the heading 'Strasburg Arms'. But as various mills
in the Angoumois were worked by Dutch capital, the labelling
of paper as 'Dutch' is not absolute proof of its being made in
Holland. Authorities on Dutch paper-making, like the late
Dr. Enschede, assert that no fine quality paper was made there
until towards the end of the seventeenth century, and Pieter
van der Ley is said to have begun making it only in 1673. Both
the Bodleian list and the record of marks show that some
Italian paper was still imported,[1] but here again conclusions
must be drawn with caution, as it is known that paper was made
in southern France after the 'façon de Genes'. Certain
official documents in the Lexington Collection, of after 1680,
were on Italian paper, as the marks on them have been found
by Mr. W. A. Churchill in the Palermo Archives. But further
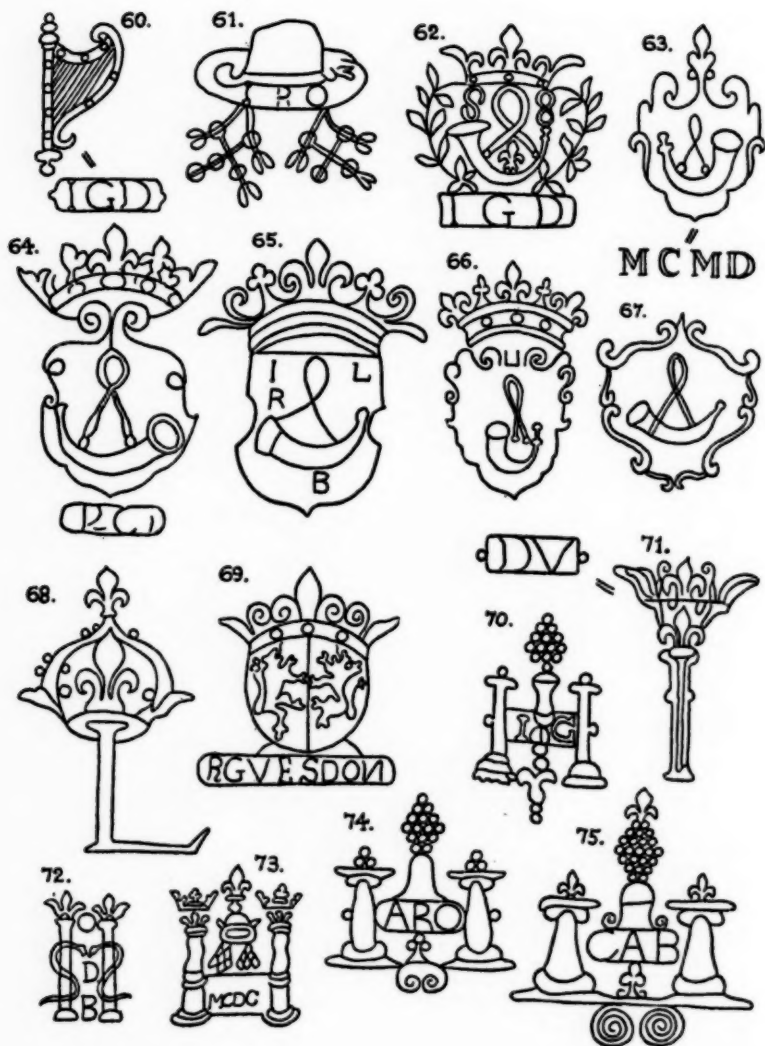discussion of these may be left for the next article.

[1] The typically Italian mark of the anchor in a circle occurs in a map engraved
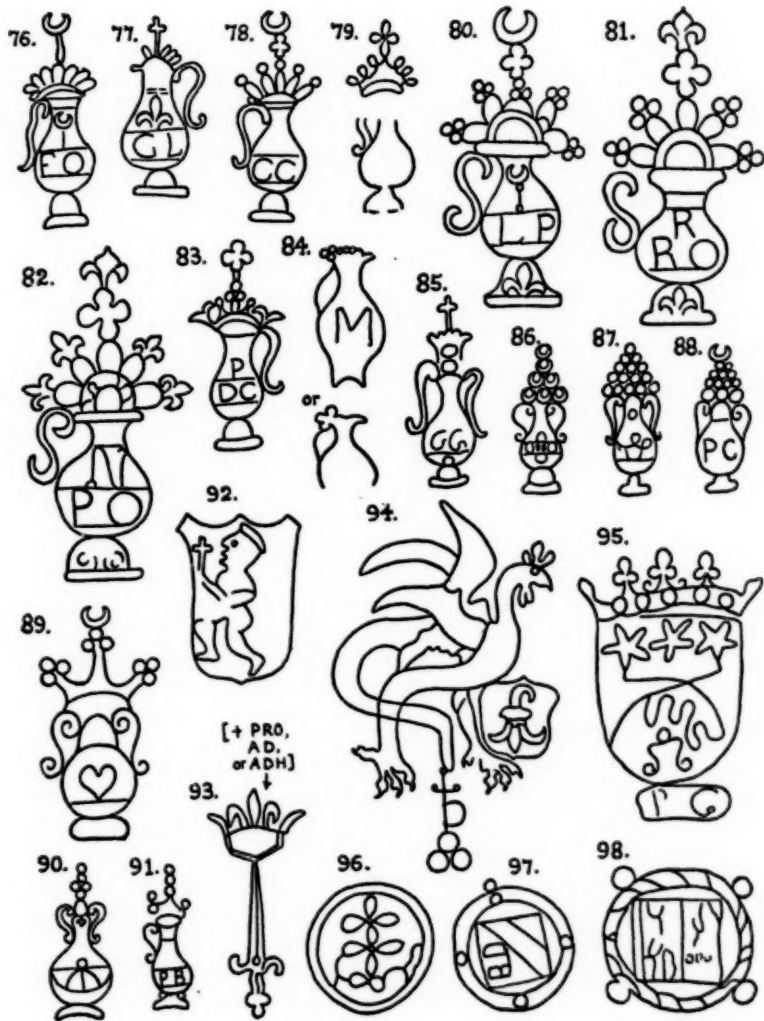by Hollar, 1654.

1. DIEV ET MON DROIT
2. OPI
3.
4. I CONAR I
5. OVAVLEGARI
6.
7.
8. 1610
9. P D
10. V I V

11.

12.

13.
IC

14.
MV

15.
PPV

16.
DM

17.

18.

19.
DVRAN

20.

21.
RDP

22.

GB3

GB3
Corner

23.

24.

25.
CROVSE

26.

PH

PMD

27.

G

PL

28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40.

41.

42.

43.

ICANINE

46.

47.

44.

45.

RRO

48.

49.

50.

51.

52.

53.

IDM

54.

55.

56.

57.

58.

59.

IDVRAND

60. IGD

61. R O

62. IGD

63.

MC'MD

64. RO

65. IR L B

66. LI

67.

68. L

69. RGVESDON

70. RGI

71.

DV

72. SD BL

73. MCDC

74. ARO

75. CAB

76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81.

82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88.

or

92. 94. 95.

89.

[+ PRO, A.D. or ADH]

93.

90. 91. 96. 97. 98.

THE GROWTH OF THE PEELE CANON [1]

By T. LARSEN

Note : Manuscript attributions are placed in parentheses ; pieces not extant, in brackets.

1656. Archer. *David and Bethsabe*.

This is the only play of Peele's which gives his name in full on the title-page ; and it is natural that it should be the first to be ascribed to him. It appears as his in the list of plays appended to *The Old Law*, which was printed for Edward Archer in 1656. Archer gives the title as *David and Beersheba*. Other variants appear in the lists of Rogers and Ley (1656) ' Bathsheba ' ; Kirkman (1661 and 1671), Cox (1680), Winstanley (1687) ' Bathsabe ' ; Langbaine (1687 and 1688) ' Bethshabe ' ; Wood (1691) ' Bathsheba ' ; and Jacob (1719 and 1723) ' Bersheba '. The first to give the title correctly in full is Langbaine : *Account* (1691), p. 401. In Archer's list *The Arraignment of Paris* is ascribed to Shakespeare (see further below, *s.a.* 1767) ; but Peele's other plays are listed as anonymous. In the earlier play-list of Rogers and Ley, appended to *The Careless Shepherdess* (1656), all of Peele's plays are given as anonymous.

1661. Kirkman. *Edward I*.

In the play-list appended to *Tom Tyler*, which was printed for Francis Kirkman in 1661, this play is ascribed to Peele for the first time. His name does not appear on the title-page ; but it is given in full in the curious *explicit* (4to, 1593, sig. L3^v ; 4to, 1599, sig. I4^v). Otherwise Kirkman's list is identical with that

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[1] I have disregarded the doubtful plays as well as the spurious pieces included by Dyce and Bullen in their editions of Peele—*Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, *A Merry Ballad of the Hawthorn Tree*, and *The Speeches at Theobald's*. See my ' Canon of Peele's Works ', *Modern Philology*, xxvi. (1928), pp. 191–9.

of Archer, as are also Kirkman's list appended to *Nicomede*
(1671) and that of Nicholas Cox : *Exact Catalogue* (1680).
Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1691), col. 260, cites *Edward I* as two
separate plays, one dealing with Edward and Llewelyn and the
other dealing with Eleanor. This mistake is copied by Tanner,
ed. Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1721), col. 300, and *Bibliotheca Bri-
tannico-Hibernica* (1748), p. 587. The first to give the title
correctly in full is Langbaine : *Account* (1691), p. 401.

1675. Phillips. The Pieces by Peele in *England's Helicon*
(1600).

Edward Phillips : *Theatrum Poetarum*, ii. (1675), p. 55, first
mentions these. In his account of Peele he refers to ' some
remnants of whose pretty pastoral Poetry we have Extant in
a Collection, Entitled *England's Helicon* '. Two of these (sig.
Bb4ʳ) are from *The Arraignment of Paris*—' Colin's Song '
(Mal. Soc. 1910, ll. 583–99) and ' Oenone's Complaint ' (ll.
665–77). Malone appears to have been the first to notice this
fact. He points it out in a manuscript note in his copy of
Ritson : *Bibliographia Poetica* (1802), p. 295. This book is now
in the British Museum (C. 60. g. 12). The first statement of
the fact in print is that of Dyce : *Peele*, i. (1828), pp. 32 and 37.
The play was in fact ascribed to Shakespeare by Capell :
Notitia Dramatica, as late as 1771,[1] although Peele's authorship
had been pointed out by Farmer in 1767. (See further below,
s.a. 1767). The third piece, ' Coridon and Melampus Song '
(sig. E3ʳ), is from the *Hunting of Cupid* (*Mal. Soc. Coll.*, 1911,
p. 311, ll. 57–60). This was first identified by Dyce (see below,
s.a. 1828). Phillips also, op. cit., ii, p. 179, ascribes Peele's *Old
Wives' Tale*, as well as Greene's *Orlando Furioso*, to Thomas
May. He had misunderstood Kirkman, in whose play-lists of

[1] Capell's *Notitia Dramatica* was written before January 1771, but was not
published until 1779–83. See Greg : ' Notes on Dramatic Bibliographers ',
Malone Society Collections, i. 4 and 5 (1911), pp. 337–8.

1661 and 1671 Peele's play is cited as anonymous, but is given in alphabetical order with Greene's immediately after May's *Old Couple*.[1] Phillips's error is copied by Winstanley : *Lives* (1687), p. 164. The mistake was pointed out by Oldys : *Biographia Britannica*, v. (1760), p. 3065. See further below, *s.a.* 1782.

1691. Wood. *A Farewell to Norris and Drake.*

This poem is added to the canon by Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1691), col. 260. *A Tale of Troy* was printed in the same quarto ; but it is not mentioned as a separate work of Peele's until Watt formally adds it to the canon (see below, *s.a.* 1824).

(*Before* 1695. Wood. *The Honour of the Garter.*)

This poem is first mentioned as a work of Peele's by Wood (*ob.* 1695) in a manuscript note in his copy of *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1691), col. 260, now in the Bodleian (Wood, 431. a). He refers to the Ashmole copy of the quarto, now also in the Bodleian (Ashmole, 677).

1721. Tanner. *The Honour of the Garter.*

The poem is formally added to the canon by Tanner, ed. *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1721), col. 300, following the note by Wood just mentioned.

(*Before* 1761. Oldys. *The Arraignment of Paris* and [*Mahomet and Hiren*].)

In his copy of Langbaine : *Account* (1691), now in the British Museum (C. 28. g. 1), p. 402, William Oldys (*ob.* 1761) first ascribes *The Arraignment of Paris* to Peele. He cites as evidence (p. 526) the reference made to the play by Nashe in the Epistle prefixed to *Menaphon* (1589). According to a manuscript note in the book, Oldys acquired this in 1727 ; but some of the notes at least must have been made in or after 1760, since at p. 544 he cites his account of May in *Biographia Britannica*, v., which

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[1] Cf. Greg, op. cit., pp. 325 and 332.

was published in that year. See further below, *s.a.* 1767.
Oldys, op. cit., p. 401, is also the first to mention Peele's
lost play, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the faire Greeke*.
He mentions the reference in the *Jests*. (See ' How George
reade a Play-booke to a Gentleman ', Bullen : *Peele*, ii, 1888,
pp. 394–6.) See further below, *s.a.* 1780.

1767. Farmer. *The Arraignment of Paris.*

In the first edition of his *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*
(1767), p. 38, Farmer says that this play ' was written by George
Peele '. In the second edition, published in the same year, he
adds the Nashe reference as proof (p. 76). Archer, in the list of
plays appended to *The Old Law* (1656), irresponsibly ascribes
the play to Shakespeare. He is followed by Kirkman: *Tom Tyler*
(1661) and *Nicomede* (1671) ; Cox : *Exact Catalogue* (1680) ;
Winstanley : *Lives* (1687), p. 132 ; and Capell : *Notitia Dramatica*
(1771). Langbaine : *Momus* (1687) and *New Catalogue* (1688),
p. 29, cites the play as anonymous. In his *Account* (1691),
p. 526, he does the same ; but he mentions Kirkman's
ascription to Shakespeare, and adds that he has not seen the
play. Gildon : *Lives* (1698), p. 129, also mentions Kirkman ;
but he is doubtful whether the play is Shakespeare's, and at
p. 157 he lists it as anonymous. Jacob : *Poetical Register*, i.
(1719–23), p. 304, gives the play as anonymous ; but adds that
it is supposed by some to be Shakespeare's. Mottley,[1] in the
Complete List appended to *Scanderbeg* (1747), p. 154[b], does the
same. Baker : *Companion*, i.(1764), doubts Shakespeare's author-
ship. Oldys was apparently the first to notice Nashe's reference
to the play (see above, *s.a.* 1671). It was formally added to the
canon by Reed : *Biogr. Dram.*, i.(1782), p. 351. The play itself
is anonymous.

[1] Greg, op. cit., p. 335: ' The list was nominally edited by Whincop's widow
Martha, Whincop having died in 1730, but it seems to have been partly written
and probably wholly revised by John Mottley.'

(1777–1812). Malone. *The Hunting of Cupid, The Praise of
Chastity, The Old Wives' Tale, An Eclogue Gratulatory,
Polyhymnia,* and *The Battle of Alcazar.*)

All of these pieces except the last are ascribed to Peele by
Malone in the manuscript notes in his copy of Langbaine :
Account (1691), now in the Bodleian (Malone, 129–32),
pp. 402–3. It is not possible to date these notes with pre-
cision, since they were clearly made at various times. But they
must be later than 1777, when, according to a manuscript note in
his own hand, he had acquired the book. Some at least are later
than 1780, since he refers (p. 402) to his *Supplement to Shake-
speare*, which appeared in that year. He died in 1812. The
attribution of *The Hunting of Cupid* to Peele he infers from the
entry in the Stationers' Register (Arber, ii. p. 591), in which
Peele is named as the author. Herbert : *Typographical Antiqui-
ties*, ii. (1786), p. 1054, also gives this entry ; and it is possible
that Malone may have derived his information from this source.
See further below, *s.a.* 1828. The attribution of *The Praise of
Chastity* he derives from *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), where the
poem is printed under Peele's name (pp. 12–15). This poem
was formally added to the canon by Ritson (see below, *s.a.* 1802).
The quartos of the *Eclogue* and *Polyhymnia* he has evidently
seen, since he gives the titles of both correctly in full. The first
statement in print of Peele's authorship of the *Eclogue* is in
Malone (Boswell) : *Shakespeare*, ii. (1821), p. 249. It is formally
added to the canon by Bliss (see below, *s.a.* 1824). *Polyhymnia*
is added to the canon by Warton (see below, *s.a.* 1785). It may
be that it was Warton who had directed Malone's attention to
it. The attribution of *The Old Wives' Tale* Malone may, like
Reed, have derived from Steevens (see below, *s.a.* 1782).
Malone mentions (p. 544) the entry in the Stationers' Register
(Arber, ii. p. 296), from which he has evidently derived the
form of the title he uses, ' The Old Wife's Tale '. Peele's name
is not given in this entry ; but, as Malone points out, the play

is described on the title-page as ' Written by G. P.' He refers
(p. 544) to the Wright copy of the quarto : and this note must
therefore have been made before 1787 when the Wright Col-
lection was sold. There is no reference to the authorship of
The Battle of Alcazar in Malone's notes to Langbaine ; but in
his copy of the play, now in the Bodleian (Malone, 163), there
is this note in his hand: ' This play, I believe, was written by
George Peele.' In his copy of *The Famous History of Captain
Thomas Stukeley*, now also in the Bodleian (Malone, 186), he
writes that Peele was ' perhaps the author ' of the former play.
Malone's conjecture was announced by Bliss (see below, *s.a.*
1824) ; and the play formally added to the canon by Dyce (see
below, *s.a.* 1828).

1780.   Malone.   [*Mahomet and Hiren*].

The first printed reference to this as a play by Peele is that
of Malone: *Supplement to Shakespeare*, i.(1780), p. 191. It had
already been mentioned by Oldys in his manuscript notes to
Langbaine (see above, *s.a.* 1761) ; and with these Malone was
of course familiar, since he had transcribed them into his own
copy of the book. The play was formally added to the canon
by Reed : *Biogr. Dram.*, i. (1782), p. 351.

1782.   Reed.   *The Old Wives' Tale*.

The first to ascribe this play to Peele in print was Reed :
Biogr. Dram., ii. (1782), p. 441. (Cf. above, *s.a.* 1777–1812.)
He, like Malone, calls it ' The Old Wife's Tale '. The attribu-
tion occurs in the Appendix ; the play is not added to the
canon (i. p. 351, *s.v.* ' George Peele '), and in the body of the
work (ii. p. 262) it is listed as anonymous. The statement of
Dr. Greg, *The Old Wives' Tale* (Mal. Soc. 1908), p. vi, ' that
the identification of the initials [i.e. ' G.P.' on the title-page]
as those of George Peele ' was first made by Herbert : *Typo-
graphical Antiquities*, ii. (1786), p. 1272, is evidently a slip.

Q q

Reed had derived his information from Steevens (see Wooll : *Life of Warton*, 1806, p. 398). Jones: *Biogr. Dram.*, iii. (1812), p. 97, follows Reed ; but, like his predecessor, he fails to include the play in the canon (i. ii. p. 565, *s.v.* ' George Peele '). The play was formally added to the canon by Egerton : *Theatrical Remembrancer* (1788), p. 8. The quarto is very rare, only four copies being known ; and it is clear that none of the early bibliographers had seen it. Phillips and Winstanley ascribe it to May (see above, *s.a.* 1675). It is listed as anonymous by Langbaine : *Momus* (1687), *New Catalogue* (1688), and *Account* (1691), p. 544 ; Gildon : *Lives* (1698), p. 165 ; Jacob : *Poetical Register* (1719 and 1723), p. 322 ; Mottley : *Complete List*, appended to *Scanderbeg* (1747), p. 158[b] ; Baker : *Companion*, i. (1764) ; and Capell : *Notitia Dramatica* (1771). It is inadvertently omitted from his list of Peele's plays by Bliss, ed. Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1813), col. 689. Reed also, op. cit., i. p. 351, formally adds to the canon *The Arraignment of Paris* (see above, *s.a.* 1767) and *Mahomet and Hiren* (see above, *s.a.* 1761 and 1780).

1785. Warton. *Polyhymnia.*

This poem is formally added to the canon by Warton : *Poems upon Several Occasions by John Milton* (1785), p. 593. It is mentioned by Malone in his manuscript notes to Langbaine (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812). Jones : *Biogr. Dram.*, i. ii. (1812), p. 565, and iii. (1812), p. 116, calls it a pageant. He had obviously not seen the quarto.

1788. Egerton. *The Old Wives' Tale.*

This piece is formally added to the canon by Egerton : *Theatrical Remembrancer* (1788), p. 8. See further above, *s.a.* 1782.

(1797. Steevens. The *Lines to Watson.*)

The first reference to this poem appears in a letter written by

George Steevens on January 3, 1797. See Nichols : *Illustrations of Literary History*, vii. (1848), p. 11. It was added to the canon by Ritson (see below, *s.a.* 1802).

1802. Ritson. The *Dixie* Device, The *Lines to Watson*, *The Praise of Chastity*, and *The Hunting of Cupid*.

These four pieces were formally added to the canon by Ritson : *Bibliographia Poetica* (1802), pp. 294–6. The *Dixie* device had already been printed over Peele's name by Strype, ed. Stow : *Survey of London*, ii. (1720), pp. 136–7, and by Nichols : *Progr. Eliz.*, ii. (1788), p. 221 ; but none of the bibliographers of Peele appears to have noticed it. The *Lines to Watson* had been mentioned in a letter by Steevens (see above, *s.a.* 1797). *The Praise of Chastity* and *The Hunting of Cupid* had probably been noticed by Malone before this date (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812) ; but Ritson was apparently unacquainted with Malone's discoveries, for he makes no reference to the *Eclogue*. See further below, *s.a.* 1828.

1812. Jones. *Descensus Astraeae*.

This poem is added to the canon by Jones : *Biogr. Dram.*, iii. (1812), p. 116. A short passage had already been quoted over Peele's name by Brydges : *British Bibliographer*, i. (1810), p. 335, where the title is given in full.

1813. Bliss. The passages by Peele in *England's Parnassus* (1600).

These appear to have been first noticed by Bliss, ed. Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1813), col. 690. The passages in question have been culled from *A Tale of Troy*, *The Hunting of Cupid*, *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Honour of the Garter*, and *David and Bethsabe*. They have been assembled in *Malone Society Collections*, i. 1 and 2 (1908), pp. 102–6. The identification of the passages from *The Hunting of Cupid* and *The Battle of Alcazar* was first made by Dyce (see below, *s.a.* 1828).

1821.   Malone.   *An Eclogue Gratulatory*.

This poem is mentioned by Malone in his manuscript notes to Langbaine (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812). The entry in the Stationers' Register (Arber, ii. p. 526) is cited by both Warton : *History of English Poetry*, iii. (1781), p. 422, and Herbert : *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. (1786), p. 1052 ; but neither was aware that Peele was the author, since he is not named as such in the entry. The first ascription to Peele in print was made by Malone (Boswell) : *Shakespeare*, ii. (1821), p. 249. The poem was formally added to the canon by Bliss (see below, *s.a.* 1824).

1824.   Watt.   *A Tale of Troy*.

The Farewell to Norris and Drake, which was printed with *A Tale of Troy*, had been added to the canon by Wood (see above, *s.a.* 1691) ; but Watt : *Bibliotheca Britannica*, ii. (1824), col. 741, was the first to mention the second as a separate work of Peele's.

1824.   Bliss.   *An Eclogue Gratulatory, The Old Wives' Tale, The Battle of Alcazar*, and ' What thinge is loue ? '

In *The London Magazine*, x. (1824), pp. 62–4, there appears an article on George Peele evidently written by a scholar well informed in bibliography and literary history. Dyce : *Peele*, i. (1828), p. 1, n., recognizes in him ' a distinguished student of our older literature '. I had long suspected from certain parallels with the account of Peele in Bliss's edition of Wood : *Ath. Oxon.*, i. (1813), cols. 688–90, that the writer was Bliss himself. This view is now confirmed by Mr. T. R. Hughes of Jesus College, Oxford, who is at the moment engaged in a study of *The London Magazine*. It is clear from the article that Bliss had had access to Malone's notes (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812) ; and accordingly we find Malone's additions to the canon here formally recorded. The *Eclogue* he confesses that he has not seen. Nor obviously had Collier, who refers to it in Dodsley :

Old Plays, xi. (1827), p. 5, as a pastoral eclogue written on the return of Norris and Drake. Collier told Dyce (*Peele*, i, 1828, p. xvii.) that his authority for this statement was a ' MS. note by Malone, on one of Peele's Tracts '. Dyce had not seen this, nor have I ; but I feel confident, with Dyce, that Malone must have alluded to the Essex *Eclogue*. Certainly it is to this that Malone refers both in his manuscript notes to Langbaine (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812) and in his edition of Shakespeare (see above, *s.a.* 1821). With regard to the authorship of *The Battle of Alcazar* Bliss is non-committal. He says (p. 63) : ' Mr. Malone supposes Peele to have been the author.' The play was formally added to the canon by Dyce (see below, *s.a.* 1828). The short lyric, ' What thinge is loue ? ' which appears in one of the Rawlinson manuscripts (Bodleian : MS. Rawl. Poet. 85, fo. 13^r) was discovered by Bliss. Dyce was the first to identify this as a quotation from *The Hunting of Cupid* (see below, *s.a.* 1828).

? 1825–30 ? Fitch. *Anglorum Feriae.*

This piece was not known to bibliographers until it was printed by Fitch from the manuscript now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 21432). The Fitch quarto is not dated. The British Museum Catalogue tentatively gives the date of printing as 1825. Dyce : *Peele* (1861), p. 592, says it appeared about ' thirty years ago '. In any case Dyce did not know of the poem when he issued his second edition of Peele in 1829. He reprints it from Fitch in the supplementary volume of 1839.

1828. Dyce. *The Battle of Alcazar* and *The Hunting of Cupid.*

The Battle of Alcazar had been conjectured to be Peele's by Malone (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812). This conjecture was announced by Bliss (see above, *s.a.* 1824). Dyce formally adds the play to the canon in his first edition of Peele (1828). The

play itself is anonymous, and is so listed in all the biographical dictionaries, bibliographical manuals, and sale catalogues before this date. Dyce also identifies (op. cit., i. p. xxv) one of the passages ascribed to Peele in *England's Parnassus* (1600, sig. D3ʳ) as a quotation from this play. *The Hunting of Cupid* is mentioned by Malone in his manuscript notes to Langbaine (see above, *s.a.* 1777–1812). Malone here refers to the entry in the Stationers' Register (Arber, ii. p. 591), in which Peele is named as the author. Herbert : *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. (1786), p. 1054, and Ritson : *Bibliographia Poetica* (1802), p. 296, also refer to this entry. All three name Peele as the author ; but none of them was aware that any portion of the play was extant. The jumbled notes in Drummond's Commonplace Book (National Library of Scotland, Drummond MSS., vol. vii.) which, so far as is known, constitute all that is extant of the piece, were discovered by Dyce and Dr. Laing. The discovery was announced and the notes first printed by Dyce : *Peele*, i. (1828), p. xxi, and ii. (1828), pp. 174 ff. Dyce was also the first to identify ' Coridon and Melampus Song ' in *England's Helicon* (1600, sig. E3ʳ), the lines quoted in *England's Parnassus* (1600, sig. N1ʳ), *s.v.* ' Loue ', and the lyric 'What thinge is loue ? ' (Bodleian : MS. Rawl. Poet. 85, fo. 13ʳ), which had been discovered by Bliss (see above, *s.a.* 1824), as excerpts from this play. Later (*Peele*, ii. 1829, p. 255) he points out that the song in the Rawlinson manuscript appears in a variant form in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600, sig. A4ᵛ).

1861.   Dyce.   [*Iphigenia*].

Peele's translation of one of the Iphigenia plays of Euripides is known to us only through a set of Latin verses written by his Oxford contemporary and friend, William Gager. These are now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22583). They were first printed by Dyce : *Peele* (1861), pp. 324–6. They had been lent to him, he says, by ' the late Mr. Rodd, the bookseller '.

1861.   Collier.   [The *Calthorpe* Device].

This piece was entered in the Stationers' Register (Arber, ii. p. 504) ; and Peele is here named as the author. Herbert : *Typographical Antiquities*, ii. (1786), p. 1054, refers to this entry, but he does not mention Peele. Nor does Nichols : ' List of Pageants ', *Gent. Mag.*, xciv. (1824), p. 113, who simply copies Herbert. The first to point out Peele's authorship was Collier : ' Reg. Sta. Co.', *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 2, xii. (1861), p. 143. The piece was unknown to Dyce : he does not mention it in his last edition of Peele which appeared in this same year, 1861.

JOHN WAYLAND—PRINTER, SCRIVENER, AND LITIGANT

By H. J. BYROM

OHN WAYLAND was not an outstanding personality among the printers of the sixteenth century and he devoted himself chiefly to the production—in a rather undistinguished way—of one type of book, manuals of prayers. It is probably for these reasons that his career and his books have hitherto aroused little interest among bibliographers. Yet he has an interesting, though hitherto unrecognized, place in the history of Henry VIII's attempt to regulate the printing of religious books.

Wayland printed first at the *Sign of the Blue Garland* in Fleet Street from 1537 until 1539. Then for nearly fifteen years he produced no books. Neither Ames and his continuators nor Bagford record anything of his activities during this period. On the accession of Mary he reappeared, with a privilege to print Catholic prayer books, at the *Sign of the Sun*, as the successor of Edward Whitchurch. From the fact that Wayland's assignees were printing *Primers* in 1557 and 1558 it has been assumed that he died towards the close of Mary's reign—an opinion which seemed to be confirmed by the date of his will, given in Duff's *Century of the English Book Trade* as 1556.[1] Such, briefly, is the present state of knowledge concerning Wayland's life and work.

The discovery at the Public Record Office of five series of lawsuits in which Wayland was involved at different times has enabled me to construct a more complete account of his life during upwards of thirty years than has hitherto been possible.

[1] Actually the will is dated 22 May 1571.

I. *Wayland's Life, 1508(?)–72.*

It is plain from statements made by Wayland in Chancery Bills and depositions that he was born about the year 1508, probably at Cranford, Middlesex. His grandfather and his father were yeomen farmers there. Some time previous to 1520, his father having died, the printer's mother married John Pilkington, a wealthy baker of London, who ' was admytted by Copie of Courte roll as garden [i.e. guardian]' to John Wayland ' during his mynoritie '. Wayland may have gone to live in London at this time—it would render his subsequent appearance there, first as a printer and later as a scrivener, more understandable. He is first heard of in London as a printer in 1537.[1]

As his printing will be considered at length in a later section, it will be enough to say here that after issuing five religious books in about two years Wayland sold his stock-in-trade to John Mayler in September 1539. Evidence will be given later to show that for some time after this Wayland continued to trade as a bookseller, but his chief occupation from 1540 until 1553 was that of a scrivener.

An examination of the Common Paper of the Scriveners' Company [2] shows that Wayland entered into it, in his own hand, his name and his acceptance of the Company's ordinances on 10 December 1540. There is no record of his having been apprenticed to any scrivener, but it is difficult to see how, without training, he could discharge the duties of that profession, which included conveyancing and other work now done by solicitors. Apprenticeship, moreover, was the usual method of entering the Company at that time. Wayland, therefore,

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[1] Unless he was the John Wayland referred to in *London Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, vol. iii, p. 323.

[2] Kindly arranged for me by Mr. A. A. Pitcairn, Solicitor to the Company.

like others of the early printers, must have been a man of some education.[1]

Wayland's name does not appear in the London Subsidy Rolls until 1541 and 1542, when he was living in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West and was assessed ' in goodes ' at the fairly high figure of £40. He is never again mentioned in the Subsidy records for that parish or for Cranford, Middlesex.

About this time Wayland began the first of a series of lawsuits which grew to be the central interest of his later life. They concerned the ownership of the Manor of Cranford, Middlesex, the lease of which had been obtained by Wayland's grandfather about 1500 from the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. This lease passed to John Wayland while he was still under age, when, according to his own statement, he was defrauded of his inheritance by the ' craftie and subtill inuencion ' of his step-father John Pilkington, who kept back the rents and then cancelled the original lease and obtained a new one made out to himself. Eventually the property passed to a certain Richard Alcester, who was in possession about 1542, when, in order to obtain redress for the ' subtyll and vntrue practyse ' of Pilkington and to get back the estate from Alcester, Wayland commenced actions against them in Chancery.[2] The outcome of these suits was that Alcester kept the property but had to pay £40 compensation to Wayland.

In 1550 Wayland joined in an unsuccessful attempt to dispossess Alcester's son. His deposition was taken on 12 November 1550, and in it he is described as ' John Wayland of the

[1] I am inclined to think Bagford was right when he said that Wayland ' was bred a scrivener in London '—B.M. Harleian MS. 5910, vol. ii. See also the will of Edward Wayland (1551), a London scrivener, with its bequest ' to my brother John Wailand '—P.C.C. Wills, 27 Bucke.

[2] P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings, 1538-44, File 1089, No. 14, *Wayland* v. *Pilkington*, and Chancery Decree Rolls, Henry VIII, Part 1, No. 1, for the judgement in *Wayland* v. *Alcester*. For the intermediate stages in the history of the lease see also the will of Richard Wayland—P.C.C. Wills, 5 Alenger.

parysshe of Saynt Dunstans in the west in London scryvenōr of the age of xlii yeres or theraboute '.[1]

Apart from the Cranford suits, it is possible to learn something of Wayland's activities during the fifteen-forties from another series of actions in the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench which has been hitherto overlooked. Wayland's opponent in these disputes was John Whitpaine, a prosperous merchant tailor who had connexions with other printers besides Wayland ; he too owned property in the west of Middlesex, near Cranford.[2]

When in prison in 1558 Wayland commenced an action for a debt of £500 against Whitpaine in the Court of Exchequer. The records of this case cannot be found, but, probably in order to delay it, Whitpaine commenced an action against Wayland in Chancery.[3] Whitpaine pleaded ignorance of the debt of £500 and accused Wayland of trying to defraud him ' of a great some of money to him dew by the Stacyoners of London '—the only connexion at present traceable between Whitpaine and the London stationers is the fact that jointly with William Powell and two other citizens he became a ' recognitor ' or surety for the payment of orphanage money to the children of William Middleton.[4] In this connexion Whitpaine directed his executors to pay ' To the children of one Midleton late of London Stacyoner deceased for my part xx ħi. v s.'

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[1] P.R.O. Town Depositions, C 24/24, *Cupper* v. *Alcester*. Other evidence that Wayland was trying to drive out the Alcesters is afforded by his case against Edward Wayland of Cranford in Town Deps., C 24/30. Another dispute between Edward and John Wayland is recorded in King's Bench Roll 1135, 129.

[2] Whitpaine was assessed at £133 6s. 8d. in 1541. His will (P.C.C. 56 Chaynay) shows him to have been a man of substance. In 1554 he was appointed with Edward Whitchurch and others to superintend the City pageants.

[3] P.R.O. Chancery Proceedings, Series II, Bundle 199, No. 24. Further proceedings in the matter of the debt of £500 are recorded in Chanc. Proc., Series II, Bundle 199, No. 104.

[4] Guildhall Records, Rep. 12, fol. 178 b.

The depositions of witnesses in the Chancery suit [1] throw more light on Wayland's character and actions. From their evidence it is clear that about 1544 Wayland and his wife had lived at the house of William Lichfield, a London poulterer, in St. Dunstan's parish. After Lichfield died his widow married John Whitpaine and Wayland lived at their house for a time. The Whitpaines complained that about 1544 Wayland had bought a quantity of 'sope' from one Henry Barnes,[2] but being unable to pay for it, had persuaded his friend Lichfield to lend him £24, the cost price of the soap, and had then failed to repay the money. They also accused Wayland of stealing documents from their house. The witnesses give an unfavourable account of Wayland's business principles. Wayland put in a counter-claim, for Lichfield had undertaken to pay him a sum of money but had never done so—he had died in great poverty about 1550.

Wayland pursued the matter also in the Queen's Bench. In Trinity Term 1559 he sought to recover £100 from the Whitpaines in their capacity as executors of Lichfield's will ; [3] and after the deaths of John and Elizabeth Whitpaine he sued *their* executors.[4] Tardy justice was granted him in 1562, when he recovered £78 of this debt.

The impression that Wayland was a rather unscrupulous adventurer is confirmed by other transactions of the last years of Henry VIII and the early part of Edward VI's reign. In 1547 he was three times summoned before the Court of Common Pleas for debts. He lost all three suits and being unable or unwilling to pay, was taken to prison by the sheriff of London. After a while he was bailed out and immediately commenced

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[1] P.R.O. Town Depositions, C 24/40, *Whitpayne* v. *Waylande*.

[2] Henry Barnes was a prosperous London grocer and also had connexions with West Middlesex—see Feet of Fines and Common Plea Rolls.

[3] P.R.O. King's Bench Rolls, 1191, 149.

[4] Ibid. 1201, 115.

a suit for debt against a trader of Ipswich. There is a similar
record of prosecutions for debt in 1546 and 1548, and early in
1549 it was reported that Wayland had left London and was
in hiding at Belton, a village in Leicestershire. He was an
adept too at making the utmost use of the law's delays.[1] Yet
he could not have been insolvent at this time, for there are
records in the Close Rolls from 1543 to 1548 of loans made by
him to various people.[2]

In 1551 Wayland bound himself together with John Red-
shawe, a mariner, in the sum of £20 to deliver certain haber-
dashery goods at Boston, Lincolnshire. They failed to perform
their undertaking and the £20 became forfeit to the Crown.
The action against Wayland was not pursued until late in
Mary's reign, when in 1558 he was imprisoned in Ludgate gaol
for inability to pay the £20.[3]

In the meantime Wayland had reappeared in London as a
printer with a privilege for Catholic *Primers*. This second
period of printing, from 1553 until 1557 or 1558, is dealt with
more fully below—it was probably a fairly prosperous time for
Wayland.

But after he had finally left the printing trade troubles fell
upon him thick and fast. About midsummer 1558 he was
imprisoned for his debt owed to the Crown and seems to have
remained in durance until 1559, when he persuaded his kinsman
John Wynsland [4] to stand surety for the payment of the twenty
pounds. At this time also the Chancery, Exchequer, and
Queen's Bench suits between Wayland and the Whitpaines
were begun, as related above, and involved Wayland in constant

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[1] For the suits referred to here see Common Plea Rolls, 1132, 1138, 1139, 1142,
and 1146 ; and King's Bench Rolls, 1138, 1139, and 1152.

[2] P.R.O. Close Rolls, 430, 442, and 445.

[3] P.R.O. Exchequer Court, Memoranda Rolls, E 159/340, 70.

[4] For a connexion of this man with Edward Whitchurch the printer see
Common Plea Roll 1156, 918.

anxiety until 1562. But while still in prison and before these suits were decided Wayland made a final effort to become solvent. This was no less than the reassertion of his claim to the manor of Cranford.

The estate had passed from the Alcester family to a certain Thomas Hoke, who was Wayland's chief antagonist during all the later litigation.

Wayland appealed in the first place to the Court of Requests,[1] which accepted his plea—in spite of many inaccuracies—and commanded Hoke to surrender the premises to him. Hoke left in 1560 or 1561 and Wayland seemed to have gained his point ; but during the next eight years his title was continually challenged. Wayland fought hard and tenaciously, but his opponents were equally persistent and enjoyed the support of Lord Windsor, to whose family the manor had passed at the dissolution of the monastic houses.[2]

Finally, owing partly to Wayland's falling in arrears with his rent and partly to a technical slip of his in failing to plead as directed to a common law action, the Court of Requests in 1564 or 1565 granted an injunction to Lord Windsor and Thomas Hoke to expel him from the manor. This they did in June 1565, when Wayland was again in prison. He complained at once to the Court of Requests, but not receiving what he considered justice, instituted proceedings in Chancery against Lord Windsor and Hoke. On this occasion Lord Windsor spoke against Wayland, and the Court, accepting his evidence, decided on 24 January 1568 that Wayland had not proved his case.[3]

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[1] P.R.O. Court of Requests, Bundle 86, No. 26.

[2] Out of the main quarrel as to the ownership of the manor grew two lesser disputes, referred to at length in Court of Requests, Bundle 107, No. 18, and Close Roll 599 ; and King's Bench Rolls, 1209, 1210, 1213, 1215, and 1219.

[3] The P.R.O. documents for the main dispute are : Chancery Proceedings, Series II, Bundle 188, No. 10, and Chancery Decrees, Elizabeth, No. 36 ; Court of Requests, Bundle 107, No. 18, and Bundle 42, No. 84.

Two actions at common law [1] confirmed this decision and Wayland sank more deeply into poverty.

During these years Wayland appeared several times in other connexions—mostly debt—before the Queen's Bench.[2] What would probably be the most interesting of these cases, did we know all the circumstances, was an action for a debt of £20 brought against him by the printer Thomas Marsh in Hilary Term 1563/4.[3] The cause and result of this dispute are unknown, but Wayland by Fabian tactics seems to have won the first round.

Between 1561 and 1565 Wayland was in trouble in the City Courts for unjustly keeping back £20 from the estate of Roger Holte, a goldsmith. The dispute was carried before the Justices of Common Pleas, who ordered Wayland to be taken to the Fleet Prison. He was not released until June 1565 and then apparently only on account of ill health.[4]

Although he lived on for nearly seven years, there is no indication that Wayland's circumstances improved. In 1568 his claim to the Cranford farmstead was finally pronounced void, and the last glimpse of him in the law courts, less than a year before his death, shows him still pathetically struggling to secure payment of a debt. He made his will [5] about this time, May 1571, and his chief concern was still his insolvency. Probate of the will was granted on 16 March 1572. Wayland, therefore, must have died shortly before that date.

II. *Wayland and the Printing of Hilsey's Primer, 1539.*

Of the five devotional manuals printed by Wayland at the *Sign of the Blue Garland* in Fleet Street—'frome the temple

[1] King's Bench Rolls, 1226, 45, and 1228, 254.
[2] Ibid. 1210, 232 ; 1216, 330 ; 1225, 128 ; and 1227, 130.
[3] Ibid. 1218, 85.
[4] P.R.O. Patent Rolls, 1016 ; and the will of Roger Holte, P.C.C. Wills, 22 Loftes.
[5] P.C.C. Wills, 9 Peter.

gate not farre '—between 1537 and 1539 unquestionably the most interesting is Hilsey's *Primer*.[1] Wayland printed the first edition, a quarto book in English and Latin dated 15 July 1539. In this year also John Mayler, a grocer and a new-comer to the craft of printing, published an octavo edition of this *Primer* in English as well as a children's version of it abridged from the larger work. The full story of the connexion of these two printers with the *Primer* of 1539 has never been told, but thanks to the discovery of the lawsuits between them, discussed below, it is now possible to understand much more clearly the relations of their various editions. The colophon informs us that the *Primers* were to be sold also by Andrew Hester and Michael Lobley, who had shops in St. Paul's Churchyard—a significant indication, for they were both booksellers rather than printers, with shops in the centre of the book-producing area of the City. Situated there they were sure to attract many more buyers than Wayland or Mayler, whose shops were on the outskirts of the City, could hope to do. These considerations make it difficult to resist the conclusion that the appointment of Hester and Lobley to sell the *Primer* was part of a carefully arranged plan on the part of those who ordered its publication and those who printed it to ensure a large circulation for it.

A curious point in these arrangements is the association of the staunch Catholic Wayland with Lobley and Mayler in the printing and sale of a Catholic *Primer*. For Lobley was in trouble with the authorities shortly before 1539 for importing alleged heretical books, and in 1541 Mayler was accused under the Statute of the Six Articles of ' calling the blessed sacrament ' of the altar the baken god and that the blessed mass is called ' beyond the sea " the mysse " for, he saith, that all is amisse in ' it, and that there is more abomination in the mass than in all

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[1] The others were : Erasmus' *Exposition on the Fifteenth Psalm*, Whitford's *Dialogue between the Curate and Ghostly Child* and *Daily Exercise and Experience of Death*, and Nicholas Wise's *Consolation for Christian People*.

' other things that is spoken of yet '. And in 1543 Mayler was imprisoned ' for printing off suche bokes as wer thought to ' be unlawfull contrary to the proclamation made on that ' behalff '.

It is important to remember that this *Primer* appeared during the Catholic reaction at the end of Thomas Cromwell's career, a year after Henry VIII's Proclamation concerning heretical books, and during the same year as the Statute of the Six Articles. We learn from the title-page that the *Primer* was compiled by John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, Cranmer's helper in promoting the English Reformation in its early stages. Hilsey died, however, in August 1539, before all the editions of the *Primer* were printed. He had been commanded to put the book together by his patron Thomas Cromwell, then the King's vicegerent in spiritual matters, and to Cromwell the work is dedicated.

That the work of printing this *Primer* was definitely entrusted by the authorities to Wayland is evident from the letter which Hilsey wrote from his sick-bed to Cromwell on 29 July 1539 and sent by the hands of Wayland, and from the terms of the agreement between Wayland and Mayler revealed in the lawsuits mentioned below. Hilsey's letter is as follows.[1]

Thiese shalbe to desyre yo[r] Honorable Lordeshipp, Even as ye have declarede me yo[r] mynde concerninge the forther Impressions of the prymer that we haue sett owt, That it may please yo[r] Lordeshippe in lyke man[er] to declare vnto this berer the prynter therof the pryuylage y[t] he shall obteyn by yo[r] Lordeshipp favorable kyndenes bytwen this and Chrystmas for the Impressions of the sayde boke/ Certyfienge hym further wyther yt may please yo[r] Lordeshipp that the com[m]andeme[n]t to the rest of the prynters shalbe declarede vnto them by yo[r] messinger other els prynted in the prym[er] and thus Jesus pres[er]ue yo[r] Lorde[ipp].

Hilsey, in referring to ' the forther Impressions of the prymer ', implies that there had been one already—as there

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[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xiv, part 1, § 1329.

had, Wayland's quarto having been issued exactly a fortnight before Hilsey's letter was written. The letter is important as showing that already before the end of July 1539 Wayland was concerned about the grant of a privilege for the book and that he had printed the first edition without having received a written licence.[1] After the Royal Proclamation of 1538 tightening up the regulations concerning the printing of controversial religious books a printer might well feel uneasy that he had no privilege for such a work as this *Primer*. It would be natural for Wayland, before proceeding to a new impression, to press for the grant of a definite privilege rather than for the renewal and extension of an earlier verbal permission. And it is evident from Hilsey's letter that that was what Wayland had been asking for. This view, moreover, fits in perfectly with what we learn of the matter from the subsequent litigation between Wayland and Mayler—that Wayland never received ' the pryuylage ' referred to by Hilsey but only a ' speciall promyse ' of it. Cromwell no doubt intended Wayland to think that the statement on the title-page that he had commanded Hilsey to put together the volume was sufficient guarantee that it was acceptable to the authorities.

III. *Wayland sells his Printing-press. His disputes with John Mayler.*

Cromwell's intentions are made clearer by the pleadings in the suits between Wayland and Mayler already mentioned. These suits, which have never before been described, belong to the latter part of 1540 and to 1541—after Cromwell's execution—and reveal that Mayler's impressions of the *Primer* were produced some months after Wayland's, and that in order to print them Mayler purchased Wayland's printing-press and other materials and his rights in the *Primer* for seven years.

[1] This is rendered more certain by the lawsuits between Mayler and Wayland considered below.

The first record is a King's Bench suit of Mayler's against Wayland, which was first before the Court in Michaelmas Term 1541.[1] The action was one for a debt of £100. By an indenture dated 1 September 1539 ' Johannes Wayland Ciuis et Scriptor Londoni ' had sold to Mayler

omne illud impressorium suum anglice a pryntyng presse tres sortas litterarum videlicet / the englyshe letter the grete prymer letter the small letter / locaria anglice cases pro eisdem omnes picturas suas / damaskes cum omnimodis implementis et utensilibus eidem impressorio spectantibus quam eciam illas duas indenturas apprentizales cum omnibus annis in eisdem venturis quas habuisset de Philippo Downell et Ricardo Wrampe habenda et gaudenda omnia premissa eidem Johanni Mayler executoribus et assignis suis sine impedimento vel interupcione praedicti Johannis Wayland heredum executorum vel assignorum suorum / Insuper praedictus Johannes Wayland per eandem Indenturam barganizasset concessisset et vendidisset praefato Johanni Mayler omnia sua potestatem priuilegium interesse et auctoritatem eidem Johanni Wayland Thome Bartlett Henrico Dal Wiłłmo Bonham Henrico Pepwell et Johanni Byddell coniunctim et separatim concessa per Dominum Regem de et in libro intitulato the manuall of prayers or prymer in Englysshe & Latyn perlato per Johannem Roffensem Episcopum ad mandatum honorabilis domini Thome Crumwell domini priuati sigilli.

By the same indenture Wayland had agreed that Mayler and his assignees should print unhindered the aforesaid *Primer* 'in omnimodis voluminibus' for the space of seven years 'cum ' hiis verbis cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum per et in ' nomine dicti Johannis Wayland admodum tenorem eiusdem ' priuilegij admodum praedictus liber iterum non sit prohibitus ' per dominum Regem et eius consilium '.

Wayland undertook neither to print nor to permit any one else in his name to print the *Primer* except Mayler, on condition that he should receive two hundred and fifty of each impression printed by Mayler in red and black provided that he found paper and paid Mayler two shillings and eightpence for the printing of each ream. And of every impression of the

[1] P.R.O. King's Bench Roll 1121, 28.

Primer in black print Wayland was to receive five hundred 'si praedictus Johannes Mayler operaret super unam formam viginti et quinque centenas primariorum', and if Mayler printed fewer then Wayland was to have his proportion if he found paper and paid two shillings for the working of each ream.

In consideration of the above, Mayler agreed to pay to Wayland £40, of which £30 were to be paid before 17 September 1539 and £10 or its equivalent in books (according as Wayland should decide) on that day.

By the same instrument Wayland also undertook before the last day of Hilary Term 1540 to show to Mayler his privilege in sufficient writing under the Great Seal of England or the Privy Seal or the King's Signet then in force. If he failed to do this, Wayland was to repay to Mayler £10 of the £30 received according to the terms of the indenture and to suffer other penalties. Wayland bound himself in £100 to perform his part of these agreements.

Wayland failed to produce his privilege by the last day of Hilary Term 1540 and then refused to pay the £10 stipulated in the agreement. Therefore Mayler instituted his action for debt in the King's Bench and claimed the forfeiture of Wayland's bond of £100. The case was argued early in October 1541, both Wayland and Mayler appearing before the Court in person.

In his defence Wayland revealed that this was not the first move in the dispute, for nearly a year before he had accused Mayler of breaking the part of the covenant regarding the number of *Primers* to be printed for his (Wayland's) benefit and had demanded the forfeiture of Mayler's bond of £40. On Mayler refusing to comply, Wayland had brought an action for debt against him in the Court of the Lord Mayor of London. Being unable to extract payment from Mayler, Wayland sought by a process of 'foreign attachment' to recover £11 5s. of Mayler's property then in his (Wayland's) possession.

After Mayler had defaulted on four successive Court days execution of the process was granted to Wayland on 8 November 1540.[1] It was still possible for Mayler to recover the £11 5*s.* from Wayland or his sureties by appearing at the Lord Mayor's Court within a year and a day of the granting of the process and dissolving the attachment. It is clear from the Chancery suit which followed that he did so.

Unfortunately the action for debt in the City Court cannot now be found. Nor, indeed, was judgement ever given in the King's Bench suit, for Wayland commenced an action against Mayler in the Court of Chancery.[2] One or two extracts from the Chancery pleadings may help to make the matter clearer.

In his Bill of Complaint Wayland states that he made two agreements with Mayler on 1 and 7 September 1539 respectively. In the first indenture 'vpon a sp[ec]iall promyse to hym ' made by the late lorde Crumwell Erle of Essex for the kings ' graces priuilege for a certen boke intitled the manuall of praiers ' or prymer in english and laten ' Wayland bound himself in £100 to show the privilege to Mayler before the last day of Hilary Term 1540 or else to pay him £10. Mayler promised to perform certain unspecified covenants which Wayland accuses him of failing to fulfil.

By the second agreement Mayler entered into an obligation ' to ymprynte retorn and sell to thuse of yor said orator v C ' [i.e. 500] prym[er]s english and latyn blak worke amountyng to ' the value and som of xii ɬi ', which Wayland says he did not perform—' vtterly meanyng to defraude and begile your said ' pore orator of the v C primers and also willing neuer to p[er]-

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[1] The City rules provided that debtors should be given four opportunities of appearing to rebut the charges made against them. See *The City Law*, 1647, pp. 42–4. One of Wayland's sureties on this occasion was the poulterer Lichfield mentioned above.

[2] P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings, 1538–44, File 1092, Nos. 16, 17, and 18.

' form his covenantes in the said first indenture but kept his house
' by a greate space w^t in the Citie of London and in no wise wolde
' accompt w^t yor said orator for his said bokes '. Because of his
loss so sustained Wayland made the attachment of Mayler's
property recorded above, whereupon Mayler commenced the
action for debt in the King's Bench. Wayland claimed that the
£11 5s. which Mayler recovered ' is and ought in cōscience to
' be accepted and taken a full discharge of the said c ƚi. which
' matter notw^{t}stonding the said Mailer and his councell say
' they will abide in lawe and by that meane cōdempn yor said
' orator in the som of c ƚi. together w^t costes and damages of the
' said sute by the rigo[ur] and extremyte of the comon lawe '. So
Wayland, faced with ruin, put forth a suggestion of arbitration.
This was emphatically refused by Mayler, so Wayland had no
remedy but recourse to the Court of Chancery.

In his Answer Mayler asserted that he had brought the
King's Bench action for debt only because Wayland ' vntruly
brake the covenauntes on his part to haue been p[er]formed '—
for instance by not providing paper for the printing of the
Primers according to his undertaking in the original indenture.
This failure of Wayland's ' was the cause that they were not
printed ', for Mayler had not ' od^{r}wyse covenaunted to print any
' such prymers / But only the said Wayland finding paper for
' the same which he did not find / Ne also did not pay him the
' sume of x ƚi. mentioned in the said indentures according to
' the purport of the said indentures / Ne neuer brought forth
' the said priuilege in Writing according to his covenaunt . . .
' to the great damage of this defendant.'

No decree of this Chancery suit has been preserved, but
fortunately the verdict interests us less than the details revealed
in the evidence.

From the terms of the agreement it is clear that the *Primers*
of 1539 printed by Mayler are later impressions than Wayland's
quarto of 15 July and that they were printed after 1 September

in that year.[1] It is certain also that, before any of ' the forther
Impressions ' of the *Primer* mentioned in Hilsey's letter to
Cromwell were issued, Wayland had turned over his business
to Mayler. His reasons for disposing of his rights in the *Primer*
without issuing any of those which he had contemplated only
one month previously are nowhere openly stated, but they
could hardly have been unconnected with his failure to obtain
a privilege for the work. Evidently he was not satisfied with
the result of his visit to Cromwell at the end of July. Moreover,
by printing his quarto edition of the *Primer* without first
obtaining ' a privilege in dede ' for it, he had contravened the
Proclamation against heretical books made only a year before :
he was technically a law-breaker.

IV. *Wayland's failure to obtain a Privilege for the Primer of 1539.*

It is interesting to find Wayland associated in this enterprise
with Thomas Berthelet, William Bonham, Henry Pepwell, and
John Byddell, even though the nature of the connexion is not
specified.[2] Byddell and Bonham printed *Primers*, the first a few
years before, the second a few years after, 1539, so one can
understand their interest. It is clear that the whole group had
' rights ' in the publication of Hilsey's *Primer* or they would
not have been mentioned in the deed of sale. Yet it is strange
that of the six printers Wayland alone should print the book and
that he should then sell the rights of the whole group to May-
ler, unless, in selling their rights, he was acting for them or had

[1] The date of the agreement also accounts for Wayland's title-page referring
to Hilsey as ' byshoppe of Rochester ' and Mayler's as ' late byshoppe etc.'—
Hilsey having died in August 1539 in the interval between the printing of the
first and the subsequent editions of the *Primer*.

[2] ' Henry Dal ', mentioned in the King's Bench Roll as a member of this group,
may be an error for Henry Tab, who was frequently associated with Bonham and
Pepwell. I have been unable to find anything further about Wayland's appren-
tices Downell and Wrampe.

previously bought them out. In his Chancery Bill Wayland clearly states that he personally received ' a speciall promyse ' from Cromwell of the King's privilege for the book.[1] Yet in the King's Bench Roll it is implied that authority to print the *Primer* was vested in the whole group. It is round this question of the grant of a privilege that the chief mystery lies.

Whatever the true explanation of these difficulties may be, it does not seem possible that Wayland's failure to procure a written privilege was due to the fall of Thomas Cromwell, for the accusation of treason against Cromwell was not made, nor was he arrested, until 10 June 1540—months after the last day of Hilary Term appointed for the exhibition of Wayland's privilege. Cromwell was still in favour with the king in 1539 and the early part of 1540, for he was created Earl of Essex and appointed Lord Great Chamberlain as late as 17 April in the latter year. Moreover, on 14 November 1539, on receiving representations from Cranmer on the subject of protecting the printers of the ' Great ' Bible against competition, Cromwell obtained a patent with surprising alacrity—on the same day that he received Cranmer's letter. Thus, that he did not get a privilege for Wayland between July and Christmas 1539, as he had promised, was not because he could not.

Cromwell's position in the matter of obtaining a formal licence for the *Primer* was complicated by the activities of the London stationers and François Regnault, the great printer and bookseller of Paris, in connexion with the printing and sale of service books. Between 1519 and 1534 Regnault had printed and exported to England large numbers of service books, including *Primers* ; but in the latter year the use of many of the service books that he had printed, especially Sarum missals,

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[1] Cromwell therefore granted Hilsey's request, that he would ' declare vnto this ' berer the prynter therof the pryuylage y^t he shall obteyn by yor Lordeshipp ' favorable kyndenes bytwen this and Chrystmas for the Impressions of the sayde ' boke ', but never actually obtained the privilege for Wayland.

was prohibited in England and the act regulating the importa-
tion of foreign books dealt a further blow to his export trade.

In consequence of these restrictions Regnault wrote to
Cromwell in 1536 asking permission to sell his books in London
as he had done previously. In his letter [1] he says he ' under-
' stands that the English booksellers wish to prevent him printing
' such books [missals, breviaries, and hours of the use of Sarum],
' and to confiscate what he has already printed '.

Regnault could not have been satisfied with Cromwell's
answer—if there was one—for on 12 September 1538 Miles
Coverdale and Richard Grafton, who were then in Paris under
Cromwell's protection overseeing the printing of the ' Great '
Bible which was being produced at Regnault's house, wrote to
their patron Cromwell another letter [2] on Regnault's behalf.
They say that Regnault still had a large number of service
books not disposed of, ' As prymers in Englishe, Missales with
' other soche like : wherof now (by the company of the book-
' sellers in London) he is utterly forbydden to make sale, to
' the vtter vndoyng of the man.' Coverdale and Grafton then
request that Regnault may be allowed to sell those he had
already printed ' so that herafter he prynte nomoo in the
' english tong onlesse he have an english man that is lerned, to be
' his corrector '. They go on to assure Cromwell that ' Yf your l.
' shewe him this benefyte, we shall not fare the worse, in the
' readynesse and due expedicion of this your l. worke of the byble.'

Before stating the conclusions to be drawn from these
transactions they must be studied in conjunction with the
historical events of which they and the publication of Hilsey's
Primer formed a part, namely Cromwell's activities regarding
' Matthew's ' Bible in 1537 and the ' Great ' Bible of 1539
and the ecclesiastical reaction which marked the last years of
Henry VIII's reign.

[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xi, p. 585, § 1488.
[2] Ibid., vol. xiii, part 2, p 129, § 336.

Relations between Cranmer and Cromwell were at first quite friendly. It was due, for instance, to a letter written by the Archbishop to Cromwell on 4 August 1537 that a licence was procured by the latter for ' Matthew's ' Bible. Nine days later Cranmer wrote again cordially thanking Cromwell for using his influence to such good effect—' you have shewed me more pleasour herin than yf you had given me a thowsande pownde '.

But ' Matthew's ' Bible gave offence to the more conservatively minded churchmen, so next year, in order to placate them, Coverdale was ordered to revise the work. In company with the printer Grafton he worked in Paris, where it was arranged by Cromwell that the ' Great ' Bible should be printed at the house of François Regnault.

When Coverdale and Grafton were threatened by the French Catholic authorities during the summer of 1538 it was to Cromwell that they wrote for protection. At first he seems to have taken little notice of their complaint; whether he afterwards interfered is not known. However, in December 1538 Regnault's printing-office was raided and most of the completed sheets of the ' Great ' Bible were confiscated. During several months of 1539 Cromwell exerted considerable pressure through the French Ambassador in London to have the sheets returned.

At the same time in England the Catholic party was gradually regaining some of its old power in Church and State ; and on 16 May 1539 the Duke of Norfolk introduced the Bill of the Six Articles in the House of Lords. In the discussion on these proposals it was Cranmer, assisted, ironically enough, by Hilsey,[1] who led the Protestant opposition, and he gave in to the will of the majority against his better judgement only when

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[1] Hilsey's behaviour at this time was very strange. In 1536 and 1537 he had helped with other Reformers to compile *The Institution of a Christian Man* and had been of great assistance to Cranmer by preaching the reformed faith and by breaking images. In 1539 he opposed the Six Articles in the House of Lords, yet at the same time compiled the conservative *Primer* printed by Wayland. The explanation, I think, is to be found in his utter dependence on Cromwell.

the King himself appeared in the House of Lords and argued in favour of the Bill. Cromwell, even though as vicegerent in spirituals he presided over the small committee of ecclesiastics of both parties whose duty it was to examine and report on the Bill, accepted the majority decision almost without a word, although it was directly contrary to the policy he had been following for years. The resentment aroused the year before by ' Matthew's ' Bible may have put him on his guard, for he does not seem to have had any previous information of the King's intentions on the subject of religion.

Henry's motive in supporting the Catholics at this time was partly political—to gain the goodwill and support of the King of France, who had just made overtures of friendship to him—for Henry had lately been rather isolated by the other European monarchs and was feeling his lack of allies acutely. And as the King's declaration for a conservative religious policy caught Cromwell unprepared, so this new orientation of foreign policy made his position even more uncomfortable and insecure—for Cromwell had been working for months to achieve an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany.

It was little more than a month after the Statute of the Six Articles became law that Wayland's notably conservative *Primer* was first printed—by direct command of Cromwell himself. He had had time since the proposal of the Six Articles was first mooted to get the book prepared by Hilsey and printed by Wayland.

From the following letter to Cromwell in which the Archbishop expresses his qualified approval of the book [1] it is clear that the *Primer* was submitted to Cranmer only *after* it had been printed:

My veray singuler good Lorde After my moste hartie com[m]endations, theis shalbe to signifie vnto your Lordeship, that I haue ou[er]sene the prymer whiche

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[1] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. xiv, part 1, § 1293. The reasons for assigning this letter to 1539 are convincingly set out in a foot-note to p. 392 of vol. ii of Cranmer's *Works* (Parker Society's Edition).

you sent vnto me, and therin I haue noted and amended suche fawtes as ar moste
wurthie of reformation / Diu[er]s thinges ther ar bisides therin, whiche if bifore
the printyng of the boke had ben com[m]itted vnto me to ou[er]see, I would haue
amendid / Howbeyt thei be not of that Importaunce, but that for this tyme thei
may be well enowgh p[er]mitted and suffered to be redde of the people, And the
boke of it self no doubte ys very good and com[m]endable / Thus my lorde moste
hartly faire you well / At Croydon the xxjth. Daye of Julye /

Plainly, Cromwell, aware by now of the King's wishes in the
matter of religion and perhaps a little unsure of his own position
and knowing too that Cranmer would wish for a more markedly
Protestant *Primer*, deliberately withheld the book from the
Archbishop until it was too late for the latter to make any
drastic alterations in it.

Shortly after this some of the confiscated sheets of the
' Great ' Bible were obtained from Paris and the work of
printing it was finished in London during the later months of
1539. To the end Cromwell jealously kept the preparation and
printing of this Bible under his own control. On 14 November
1539 Cranmer wrote to him once more asking him to safeguard
the interests of the printers of the Bible against unfair compe-
tition. On the same day Cromwell obtained from the King
a patent *made out to himself*, giving him control of all Bible-
printing for five years.

Thus through all the changing circumstances of 1539 Crom-
well was in a difficult position on the delicate question of
licensing *Primers*. He had to administer the law of 1534
regulating the importation of religious books—and he was no
doubt urged to this course by the stationers of London in
opposition to Regnault—and yet he had his own reasons at
first for indulging Regnault. On the other hand, in the
changed religious and political situation of the middle months
of 1539 Cromwell had the strongest reasons for preventing the
sale of Regnault's service books in England, since they would
compete with Wayland's *Primer*, of which he himself was the
inspirer. Can it be wondered at, therefore, that Cromwell

obtained neither a licence for Regnault nor a privilege for Wayland? In order to preserve his power and position Cromwell had to be ready for any change in the King's ecclesiastical policy and if possible to anticipate it, for his enemies of the Catholic party were exploiting the religious situation in order to compass his downfall. Thus he would not commit himself too far to either party—he made ' a speciall promyse ' of a privilege to Wayland for the Catholic *Primer* but never intended to procure it.

Clearly then, Cromwell's retention of control over the publication of the ' Great ' Bible and his keeping the *Primer* of 1539 also under his own direction by means of his creature Hilsey and a false promise of a privilege to the printer Wayland were closely related parts of a considered policy of caution towards Cranmer and the Reformation tendencies which he embodied —a policy which Cromwell consistently followed from 1538, on the ill-success of ' Matthew's ' Bible, until 1540, the year of his fall and death. And, like the ' Great ' Bible, Hilsey's *Primer* was intended by Cromwell to conciliate the Catholics and hence probably to strengthen his own credit with the King.

These considerations, as well as helping us of a later age to appreciate the irony of one of the charges made against Cromwell before his execution only one year later—' that he did ' evulgate and disparse abroad among the King's subjects great ' numbers of books, containing manifest matter of much heresy, ' diffidence, and misbelief '—do, I believe, go far to explain how such a book as this *Primer*, fathered most ostentatiously by Cromwell as it was, and in close accord with the King's reactionary ecclesiastical policy at the time, came to be printed without a formal licence. Mayler, who was evidently relying on the production of the written privilege to get him out of any difficulties that might arise on the score of the book's heterodoxy, regularly printed the words ' cum priuilegio ad impri-

mendum solum ' in his *Primers* in accordance with his agree-
ment with Wayland. But why Wayland should have insisted
on Mayler adding ' per et in nomine Johannis Wayland '—as
Mayler did, in English—on the pretence that it was ' admodum
tenorem eiusdem priuilegij ', in accordance with the terms of
a privilege that had never been granted, is incomprehensible ;
unless Wayland, believing in Cromwell's good faith, still ex-
pected in September 1539 to obtain a written privilege as
promised before Christmas, or else unless he was deliberately
misleading Mayler.

But this does not dispose of Wayland's breach of the Pro-
clamation of 1538 directed against heretical books. Associated
with Berthelet, Byddell, Bonham, and Pepwell, he was bound to
know that he was infringing the new regulation by printing the
Primer merely ' vpon a speciall promyse ' of a privilege given
verbally and without the written privilege itself. This dis-
tinction involves the true meaning of the regulation—' that
' no person or persons in this realm shall from henceforth printe
' any booke in the Englishe tong unless upon examination made
' by some of his grace's pryvie counsaille or other such as His
' Highnesse shall appoint they shall have lycence so to do '. By
printing the words ' cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum ',
in spite of the fact that he had received only the promise of a
privilege for the book, Wayland was breaking the other half of
the regulation—' and yet so havynge nott to put these words
' Cum privilegio regali without addyng Ad imprimendum
' solum, and that the hole copie, or els at the least theffect of
' his licence and privilege be therwith printed, and playnely
' declared and expressed in the Englisshe tonge underneth
' them '. In fact he had committed one of the abuses which
the Proclamation was expressly intended to prevent—the un-
authorized use by dishonest printers of the words of the King's
privilege. No doubt Wayland trusted Cromwell to get him
out of any trouble that might arise if his privilege or the

orthodoxy of his *Primer* were questioned. But there was a risk, and Wayland saw it—hence his visiting Hilsey and Cromwell late in July 1539 with a request for a definite privilege : and hence too, probably, when he was still put off, the sale of his business and his rights in the *Primer* to Mayler. The printing of this *Primer* at least shows how a recently made regulation of the King and Privy Council could be set at naught by a powerful minister.[1]

In his preface to *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII* Edward Burton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford a century ago, although concerned chiefly with the liturgical importance of the book, put forward a view of Hilsey's *Primer* which, considering the time when it was written, is singularly in accord with what has been said above and is certainly worth quoting.[2]

Having now concluded my remarks upon the three Primers published in the reign of Henry VIII, I have only to state that they are reprinted in the present volume with a view to illustrate the progress of religious opinions during that interesting period. The first, or Marshall's Primer, shews the lengths to which some persons were disposed to go in casting off the Romish superstitions, and the boldness with which they ventured to disseminate their principles by means of the press. This was in 1535 and a few years earlier. The second, or Bishop Hilsey's Primer, was set forth at the commandment of Crumwell in 1539, and may be taken as indicating in some measure the religious opinions, not only of the King's vicegerent in spiritual matters, but of the King himself. We have seen that the book did not altogether satisfy Cranmer : and I cannot but consider it as being behind the general spirit of the times, with respect to the reformation of super-stitions and abuses. The third, or King Henry's Primer, contains much more unequivocal marks of the declension of popery.

Burton has other passages showing the close connexion between Hilsey's *Primer* and the Elizabethan *Book of Common*

[1] In 1538 Grafton, then in Paris superintending the printing of the ' Great ' Bible, was involved in a difficulty over this same Proclamation ordering the use of the words ' ad imprimendum solum '. Like Wayland, he applied to Cromwell for a remedy, but we do not know with what result.

[2] Burton, op. cit., pp. lxvi and lxvii.

Prayer and illustrating especially how much Hilsey's compilation affected the choice of a Kalendar and Epistles and Gospels for the latter work.

V. *The Sale of Hilsey's ' Primer '.*

There are few copies of Hilsey's *Primer* preserved—indeed, Wayland's quarto, the first edition, is known to us only from a unique exemplar in the Bodleian Library. This is probably due, partly to the disuse and destruction during Mary's reign of non-Roman service books, and partly to Mayler having printed comparatively few copies of the *Primer*—he admitted himself that he printed fewer than he had contracted to print. As Lobley and Hester sold the *Primers* as well as Wayland and Mayler, the scarcity of copies is all the more remarkable.

Some light is thrown on the sale of the *Primers* by a lawsuit in which Wayland became involved in 1540. Incidentally the suit proves that he continued to trade as a bookseller for a time after the sale of his printing equipment to Mayler. On 31 May 1540—nine months after the sale of his business—Wayland instituted in the Court of Common Pleas an action for a debt of £40 for alleged breach of contract against John Butler, a leatherseller of London.[1] The hearing of the case was twice adjourned at the request of Butler and judgement was finally pronounced in Wayland's favour in Trinity Term 1541.

An agreement made and endorsed by the two men on 16 November 1539 was produced in court. As will be seen, it provided for the sale and delivery of several gross of the *Primers* of 1539 in various formats—some otherwise unknown—and at specified prices.

[1] P.R.O. Common Plea Rolls, 1106, 437, and 1108, 337. Butler appears frequently in the Common Plea Rolls of 1545–50. He died about 1550—see Guildhall Records, Rep. 12. He may have been the ' John Butler late my servant ' to whom in 1535 De Worde left six pounds in printed books and who printed in and after 1529 at the *Sign of St. John* in Fleet Street.

Quequidem indentura testatur quod praedictus Johannes Wayland bargani-
zasset et vendidisset praefato Johanni Butler illas separales sortes primoriorum
uocatas bounde prymers sequentes expositas per honorabilissimum consilium
domini Regis ad et pro separalibus precijs imposterum nominatis videlicet duode-
cim grossa puerilium primoriorum Anglicorum in magna primoriali littera nigri
operis computanda duodecim duodenas ad le grosse precij duodene duorum
solidorum et sex denariorum duo grossa Anglicorum primoriorum in le pica littera
nigri operis precij duodene quatuor solidorum duo grossa primoriorum in Angli-
cana littera nigri operis precij duodene quinque solidos duo grossa primoriorum
Anglicanorum et Latinorum nigri operis precij duodene octo solidos vnum gros-
sum primoriorum in largo volumine Anglicanorum et Latinorum rubeorum et
nigrorum precij duodene duodecim solidos vnum grossum Anglicanorum primori-
orum rubeorum et nigrorum in largo volumine cum Epistolis et Evangelijs precij
duodene duodecim solidos.

Furthermore, Wayland agreed to deliver these *Primers* in
definite quantities at the dwelling-house of Butler in London
at the end of each month from the date of the indenture :

videlicet ad finem cuiuslibet mensis vnum grossum puerilium primoriorum et de
alijs tribus le sortes nigri operis de quolibet le sorte quatuor duodenas et de alijs
duobus largissimis le sortes rubeis et nigris de utroque le sorte duas duodenas Et
sic quolibet mense consimilem numerum de quolibet le sorte quousque omnia sint
deliberata sicut praedictum est.

An exemplar of each of the six issues of the *Primer* remained
in the hands of William Carkeke, a well-known London
scrivener, signed by both Wayland and Butler and with the
agreed prices inscribed.

Butler, for his part, promised to pay the prices agreed upon
for the several sizes of the *Primer* when they were delivered to
him, provided that if thereafter any of the *Primers* should be
forbidden by the King or his Council Wayland should pay him
compensation for the *Primers* then remaining unsold in his
hands.

Butler accused Wayland of failing to deliver one gross of the
children's *Primers*, four dozen of each of the other three smaller

Primers in black print, and two dozen of each of the larger *Primers* printed in red and black on 14 December 1539—the end of the first month after the signing of the agreement—as Wayland had undertaken to do. Likewise Butler maintained that Wayland had defaulted at the end of every month until 3 May 1540—the end of the sixth month from the signing of the indenture. Then, he alleged, before the end of the seventh month, namely on 31 May 1540, Wayland had instituted this action for debt.

Wayland, on the other hand, strongly maintained that on 14 December 1539 he had delivered the numbers of each issue of the *Primer* required of him by the agreement, ' apud London ' in parochia omnium sanctorum in hony lane in Warda de ' Chepe apud domum mansionalem praedicti Johannis Butler ' secundum formam et effectum indenturae praedictae '. Butler therefore owed, but had not paid, for the gross of children's *Primers* thirty shillings ; for four dozen of each of the other three small *Primers* sixty-eight shillings ; and for two dozen of each of the two largest-sized *Primers* forty-eight shillings.

The jury was convinced that Wayland had delivered the first consignment of books on 14 December 1539 but had never been paid for them. Judgement was given for him on the Thursday after Ascension Day 1541 and he was allowed his debt of £40 together with 83s. 4d. costs and damages. Wayland recovered this amount from Butler and appeared before the Court on 10 October 1541 to acknowledge himself satisfied as to his debt and costs.

But this was not the end of the dispute, for between 10 October and 8 November 1541 Butler sued an attaint against Wayland at common law, thus implying that the jury in the Common Plea suit was corrupt and had delivered a false verdict. No record of this suit has been found, but that it was instituted between these two dates is manifest from a long series of entries (to which it gave rise) in the Repertory Books of the Court of

Aldermen of the City of London.[1] On 8, 10, and 15 November
1541 Wayland was warned to appear before the Court 'for the
stay of the attaint of the said Butler'; but he never came and
on 17 November the matter was remitted to the common law.
Whether the action was pursued in the King's Courts is un-
known, but it came up again before the Court of Aldermen
eighteen months later. In June and July 1543 Wayland ap-
peared six times before the Aldermen's Court and in September
of the same year Butler gave his version of the matter. In the
following January the Court of Aldermen

declared vnto John Butler letheseller that he vsed nott hym self lyke a good
Citezen nor yett Accordyng to his othe made vnto this Cytie in that he suyd an
atteynt ageysnt Weylond at the Cōen lawe where he myghte haue had lyke
remedy withyn the Cytie nor accordyng to his p[ro]myse of late made vnto my
lorde mayor for the steyng of his seyd Atteynt / And also the inconvenyens that
m60ght ensue in suche lyke case to thys Cytye and the rather a great deale by
means of his evyll p[re]sydent was also declared vnto hym at length by the hole
Court butt for eny mocon or instaunce that the Court culde make vnto hym he
wolde in nowyse agree to respyte his seyd sute of Atteynt or to submytt hym self
to the order of this Court /

On 29 April 1544 Wayland was 'substancyally warned by
' the cōen cryar to appere vpon Sunday next at poulles before
' my lorde mayer and my masters thaldermen before the
' s[er]mone tyme for the mater of attaynt bytwene Butler and
' hym.'
In May Butler entered into recognizances with the jurymen
who had given the verdict against him, and they with him, to
fulfil the orders of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the matter
—but Wayland still stood out. After four more hearings both
parties agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration—but a week
later they utterly refused even to consider arbitration. Certain
of the Aldermen were then appointed to investigate the matter;
they reported to the full Court on 10 March 1544/5. The

[1] All the entries are in Repertories 10 and 11.

final award—a majority decision—appears under date 27 October 1545.

The Varyaunce bytwene Weylond and Butler

Weylond must pay to Butler iiij m[a]rkes a yere ou[er] his owne suertye tyll the Sume of xxj li. xviij s. be payed whiche money Weylond was payed by Buttler for bokes and neu[er] receyued theym. Weylond to pay Buttler xx li. p[ar]cell of xl li. that he receyvyd of Butler in forfett by the xij men that is to sey x li. a yere ou[er] his owne suertie.

Itm that the Jurye shall pay to Buttler afore the [1] . . . day of . . . xx li.

Itm that the one to quytans the other for all man[er] thinges save onely the dett aboueseyd.

m^d one of us iiij arbeterers wold nott agree that the quest shuld pay xx li. but he was contentyd they shulde haue payed xvj li. the iij of theym wolde haue theym to pay xx li. And vpon that yt brake /

Even so the trouble was not ended, for one of the jurymen ' refused to pay eny peny ' to Butler and was thereupon ' comytted to warde '.

The signing of the contract on 16 November 1539—two months after Wayland had disposed of his printing materials to Mayler—probably accounts for the provisions in the Wayland-Mayler agreement for the return to Wayland of a certain number of copies of each edition printed by Mayler, for it shows that Wayland was still in business as a bookseller. Also from the date of the Wayland-Butler indenture it seems likely that most of the books referred to in it were editions of the *Primer* printed by Mayler. This is certainly true of the smaller books, for the only impressions known of the children's *Primer* were printed by Mayler, and so were all the octavo editions of the unabridged *Primer* that have survived.

No quarto edition of this *Primer* bearing Mayler's imprint is recorded, although he purchased the right to print the work ' in omnimodis voluminibus '. The inference is that the larger *Primers* purchased by Butler were Wayland's work—which is

[1] No day or month is specified.

borne out by the appearance of Wayland's name on the title-page of the Bodleian quarto.

Apart from extending our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the printing and sale of this *Primer*, these newly discovered lawsuits of Wayland's supply useful details regarding printers' methods of business, the cost of their plant, and the prices of bound and unbound books, in the middle of the sixteenth century.

VI. *Wayland's Second Period of Printing : 1553–7.*

Nothing is known of Wayland's reasons for returning to the printing trade. The first record of it is his patent [1] dated 24 October 1553, which gave him for seven years the sole right ' to prynte all and euery suche vsuall prymers or manualls of ' prayers by whatsoeu[er] other title the same shall or maye be ' called / Which by vs our heyres successors or by our clergy by ' our assent shalbe aucthorysed set furthe or devysed for to be ' vsed of all our loving subiectes throughout all our realemes and ' domynyons '. In this grant he is referred to as ' our wel-' beloued subiecte John Wailand citezen and Scryvenor of ' London '.

How and why Wayland obtained this privilege is unknown ; but it would seem, considering the usual method at this time of gaining a monopoly to print any particular class of book, that he must have had some powerful friend at Court. Thus the grant to Richard Tottell of an exclusive privilege to print law books in Edward VI's reign and its confirmation and renewal in the time of Mary were due, as I have previously shown,[2] to the influence of a powerful group of lawyers of Lincoln's Inn.

A similar and parallel case belonging to the same year as Wayland's and dealing also with service books is that of William Seres, of whom Wayland was in a very real sense the successor.

[1] Patent Roll, No. 874.
[2] In *The Library*, New Series, vol. viii, pp. 220–3.

In the last year of Edward VI Seres obtained a privilege to print Protestant *Primers*. He owed this grant entirely to the influence of Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. On the accession of Mary a few months later Seres's patent was taken from him, he was imprisoned, and many of his books were confiscated.[1] Thus, as Wayland then received the patent for service books, he may truly be said to have supplanted Seres. But this could hardly have been done without the intervention of some influential patron who would act for Wayland as Cecil had done for Seres.

In another sense Wayland was the successor of Edward Whitchurch, who also had printed service books, having obtained a privilege to do so in 1544 jointly with Richard Grafton. Whitchurch, like Seres and other Protestant printers, was persecuted and driven from business in 1553, but not before he had sold his printing-house, the *Sign of the Sun*, which stood in Fleet Street near the conduit opposite the south end of Shoe Lane. Whitchurch had succeeded John Byddell—also a printer of *Primers*—at this house in 1545 and previous to the occupation of Byddell the premises had belonged to Wynkyn de Worde. So Wayland, who took over the printing-house in 1553, inherited a distinguished tradition.

The lawsuit [2] resulting from the sale of this printing-house by Whitchurch was the subject of an article by the late Mr. H. R. Plomer in *The Library* some years ago.[3] The original purchasers—in June 1553—were the printers William and

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[1] Seres's privilege was restored to him when Elizabeth came to the throne—again through the assistance of Cecil—see *Egerton Papers*, p. 138. Wayland, in his edition of the *Treasure of Pore Men* (1556), used a compartment of which Seres made frequent use when he was printing in association with John Day before 1551. Whether it came to Wayland on the imprisonment of Seres in 1553 or when Day was sent to the Tower in 1554 'for pryntyng of noythy bokes' or in some other way is uncertain.

[2] P.R.O. Common Plea Roll 1156, 525.

[3] *The Library*, Third Series, vol. vi, pp. 228–34.

Humphrey Powell, but for some reason unknown they did not pay for the property within the appointed time, hence the action for debt in the Court of Common Pleas in the following Michaelmas Term. As Mr. Plomer pointed out, the pleadings in this suit by their fullness of detail supply a unique picture of the interior of a mid-sixteenth-century printing-house. The Powells lost the case and had to pay £250 and costs. It was after this that the business passed into the hands of Wayland.

We have here a very interesting state of affairs, whether regarded from the point of view of the history of the older printing-houses or of the curious wanderings of printers' materials in Mary's reign.

William Powell, by his marriage in 1547 with Elizabeth, the widow of William Middleton, had obtained Middleton's printing-house, a prosperous establishment which previous to 1541 had belonged to Robert Redman and earlier still to Pynson. In 1547 also William Powell had witnessed the taking up of his freedom in the Stationers' Company by Richard Tottell, formerly an apprentice with Middleton. And now, in this suit of 1553, he is found trying to get a controlling interest in another long-established house, De Worde's, with traditions going back to Caxton himself. There can be little doubt that William Powell was the chief mover in the attempt to buy out Whitchurch, for his associate Humphrey Powell was printing in Dublin from 1557 until 1566 and had received assistance from the Government to enable him to set up a printing-house there.

We do not know why the Powells failed to pay for the *Sign of the Sun* by the date stipulated, but it is worth noting that after 1553 there was a considerable slowing-down in William Powell's rate of book-production—as if he had been badly hit by the struggle to find the £250 and costs awarded against him. In the six years between 1547 and 1553 he printed nearly forty books, but only about half that number during the fourteen years from 1553 to 1567.

Part of the stock mentioned in the inventory of the premises came from John Rastell's printing-house, and ' the inclusion . . . ' of fifty copies of *The Division of the Spiritualty and the Tem-* '*poralty*, for the printing of which Robert Redman got into ' trouble, looks as if William Powell had transferred some of ' his stock to these premises '.[1] It is equally probable that William Powell himself used printing materials from the *Sign of the Sun* during his brief tenancy of that house between June and October 1553, thus leading to a further confounding of properties.[2]

Tottell also may have bought some of Whitchurch's old property from William Powell at this time, for in 1555 he used a title-page border of Whitchurch's for his edition of Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*.

The persecution of the Protestant printers at the beginning of Mary's reign, the dispersion of their materials and whether they retained any or not, what Catholics succeeded them, and to what extent the latter obtained property and printing rights formerly belonging to Protestants, are problems that demand a fuller treatment than is yet possible. But it may be noted that each of the Catholic printers obtained property that had belonged to several Protestants—Wayland, for instance, using border-pieces that had previously been used by John Day, William Seres, and Richard Grafton, as well as materials formerly owned by Whitchurch.

The date of Wayland's first patent has a certain historical importance, as was pointed out long ago by Mr. W. F. Trench.[3]

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[1] Plomer, op. cit., p. 233.

[2] One difficulty not solved by the foregoing is the use by William Powell, *in a book dated 1552*, of a border-piece of Whitchurch's, originally De Worde's. The piece is No. 50 in McKerrow's *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485–1640*, where it is suggested that ' sometime before 1552, Edward Whitchurch . . . seems to have made over a portion of the old material to William Powell '.

[3] *A Mirror for Magistrates ; its origin and influence*, p. 13, foot-note ii.

' The fact of Wayland's receiving the patent again so soon is
' curious, as showing the great haste to restore the old form.
' During the very week that the subject was being hotly con-
' tested in Convocation and a fortnight before it was decided by
' Parliament (see Froude, vol. v, pp. 287–9) Wayland's patent
' anticipated the result.' This fact, taken together with the
Proclamation against Heretical Books and the treatment of the
leading Protestant printers, illustrates how truly the new rulers
of England estimated the power of the press and how early they
realized the necessity for controlling the output of theological
books. It was only one step from this thinly veiled effort to dis-
guise their intentions to the systematic regulation of printing
through the incorporation of the Stationers' Company.

The problem of the Marian *Primers* would require a special
study by itself, in which Wayland's privilege and the books
he printed would take a central place. The privilege appears
to have been of little value to him as conferring a monopoly,
for it was constantly infringed.[1] The difficulty is to decide if
any of the *Primers* printed by other men were authorized by
Wayland and how many were issued in spite of his privilege
and often-printed injunction, ' forbiddinge al other to Print
this or any other Primer. Either in English or Latine.'

All Wayland's Marian *Primers*, so far as can be ascertained,
belong to the year 1555. His assignees were printing *Primers*
in 1557 and 1558. They also printed the prohibition to other
printers given above, which goes to show how often the
privilege was broken.

Herbert conjectured that John Kingston and Henry Sutton,
who printed *Primers* in association during Mary's reign, may
have been Wayland's assignees. The facts that their earliest
Primer is dated 1556 and that Sutton in 1560 used part of a
border-piece (originally Whitchurch's) that had belonged to

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[1] Thomas Petit, Robert Caly, Robert Toy, John King (for John Waley), John
Kingston, and Henry Sutton all printed *Primers* in London in Mary's reign.

Wayland in 1554 certainly strengthen this guess, though I have found nothing to confirm it.

When Wayland took over Whitchurch's printing establishment he also continued to employ William Baldwin, who had been corrector of the press to Whitchurch. Baldwin, as is well known, was a staunch Protestant, so the association is somewhat strange. After 1553 Wayland printed Baldwin's books : *The Brief Memorial* in 1554, and a new edition of *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy*, 1555; and it is owing to his association with Baldwin that his edition of Lydgate's *Falls of Princes* (1554) is Wayland's best-known production.

Mr. Trench has shown [1] that it was Whitchurch's intention in 1553 to issue a new edition of the *Falls of Princes*, but ' that ' he was obliged to cease printing, and to sell his stock-in-trade, ' of portions of which Wayland and Tottell respectively possessed ' themselves '. Both printers continued to work on Whitchurch's design and both produced editions of the work in 1554. Wayland's edition—a reprint of Pynson's of 1527—is undated, but owing to the form in which he prints the Queen's title in the recital of his patent at the end of some copies of the book there can be no doubt that it was printed in 1554.[2] On the front of the leaf containing the patent is printed this title :

' A memorial of suche Princes, as since the tyme of King ' Richarde the seconde, haue been vnfortunate in the Realme ' of England. Londini. In aedibus Johannis Waylandi, cum ' priuilegio per Septennium.'

Mr. Trench and Miss E. I. Feasey [3] have shown that this was the title-page of the true first edition of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, which was suppressed in Mary's reign and only published in

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[1] Trench, op. cit., pp. 18 and 19.

[2] Trench, op. cit., pp. 6 and 7, and a note by Dr. H. Bergen in E.E.T.S. edition of the *Falls of Princes*, vol. iv, p. 120, foot-note.

[3] Miss Feasey's articles appeared in *The Library,* New Series, vol. iii, and *The Modern Language Review*, vol. xx.

1559 in an abridged form by Thomas Marsh. William Baldwin was the editor, as we learn from the version of 1559, and Whitchurch the printer who suggested the plan of the work to him. Its suppression in 1554 through the influence of Stephen Gardiner, then Lord Chancellor, was due to religious and political considerations, as the authors of the poems were Protestants and sympathized with the late Protector Somerset and satirized Gardiner and the new order.

The association of Wayland, a Catholic and the privileged printer of manuals of devotion, with such a work as *A Mirror for Magistrates* is very strange. And from the conclusions reached by Mr. Trench and Miss Feasey we are forced to ask whether Wayland really knew what he was doing in proposing to print *A Mirror for Magistrates* in 1554. There is no direct evidence either way, but as he does not seem to have suffered personally and his patent was renewed in 1556 it may well be that he did not know of the satire in the projected work until Gardiner actually forbade its publication.

Wayland's edition of the *Falls of Princes* is a finer piece of work than Tottell's as regards both type and paper. The same is true of their editions of *The Pastime of Pleasure*, Wayland's dated 1554 and Tottell and Waley's 1555. In this case Wayland's edition was much more carefully prepared and contained an introductory address written probably by himself. The text of Hawes's work was improved in many places—perhaps by Wayland's corrector of the press. The spelling of Wayland's edition is more modern than that of Tottell's. A similarly high degree of care is evinced in Wayland's third large book, his edition of Sir Thomas North's translation of *The Dial of Princes*, 1557. How far was the printing of these three works due to the influence of William Baldwin ?

The smaller books printed by Wayland at this time were for the most part reasonably carefully produced. He issued Baldwin's *Moral Philosophy* and Hill's *Physiognomy* probably

to satisfy a popular demand. John Elder's *Copie of a letter sent into Scotlande, of the arival and landynge, and moste noble marryage of the moste Illustre Prynce Philippe etc.* was, perhaps, like Tottell's account of Queen Elizabeth's passage through London at her coronation, an early attempt to satisfy the popular craving for news, as well as an earnest of the printer's patriotism.

Judging from the number of Wayland's books and the rate at which he issued them, it would seem that the *Sign of the Sun* was not so busy between 1553 and 1557 as it had been during Whitchurch's tenancy. That Wayland had at least one apprentice in 1557 we know from the account of the punishment of Thomas Green in Foxe's *Martyrology*,[1] which incidentally reveals the extent of Wayland's attachment to the old faith at this time.

'In the reigne of Queene Mary,' we are told, Thomas Green was 'apprehended and brought before Doctor Story, 'by his own maister, named John Wayland the Promotor, 'being then a Prynter,[2] for a booke called *Antichriste*, the which 'Thomas Grene did distribute to certen honest menne.' Green had three copies, one of which he gave to 'John Beane . . . 'being prentise with mayster Tettle [i.e. Tottell]'. When Green had been in prison for some time and would not confess from whom he had obtained the book, the whole matter was revealed by another person and Green was whipped for refusing to tell the truth.

On 20 July 1556 Wayland obtained a renewal of his exclusive privilege to print service books for a further term of seven years.[3] No reason can definitely be given for this confirmation of his patent, but it may have been for the greater security of his

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[1] Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, 1563, pp. 1685-8.

[2] 'Being then a Prynter' argues that Foxe had an inkling of Wayland's other business enterprises.

[3] Patent Roll, No. 915.

assignees, who began printing *Primers* soon afterwards; for Wayland himself seems to have printed no service books after 1555.

It was a frequent custom of Wayland's to print his privilege at the end of his books, ' perhaps ', as Mr. Trench says, ' because it was the more necessary for him to protect himself as being never connected with the Company of Stationers '. In spite of this, however, the patent was often infringed by other printers.

Wayland finally went out of business as a printer in 1557 or at the very latest in 1558, though *Primers* printed by his assignees continued to appear throughout 1558 and part of 1559.[1]

[1] Those that appeared in 1558 were Catholic *Primers*. In 1559 Wayland's and Seres's assignees are said to have combined to produce a *Primer* similar to those of the last years of Henry VIII—probably to bridge over the gap between the death of Mary and the Elizabethan Church Settlement with its new *Book of Common Prayer*.

MS. LINE-RECKONING

By ROBERT STEELE

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY quarto manuscript of verse of which I have made a study, B.M. Harley 682, presents a number of independent calculations of length by the transcribers and correctors which have not been cleaned off owing to the incomplete state of the manuscript, evidently meant to be illuminated. The verse, as a rule, is written in a ten-syllable line and shorter lines, when they occur, do not seem to have been charged for.

The first gathering of the manuscript, containing presumably 400 lines, is lost. There are six distinct attempts at numbering the lines, all of them, of course, starting from a point before the present line-numbering begins.

I. The actual scribe seems to have made, while writing, a rough division of his work into 'takes' of approximately 64 lines each, when copying the ordinary lines, or of approximately 80 lines when copying roundels, which had usually four or more short lines of three words each to ten long lines.

The dashes in the margin still remaining are at lines :

119, 182, 310, 438, 567, 631, 695, 699, 745, 810, 874, 938, 1002, 1065, 1128, 1191, 1254, 1382, 1446, 1511, 1575, 1639, 1717, 1767, 1831, 1897, 1960, 2024, 2087, 2152, 2216, 2280, 2343, 2407, 2470, 2535, 2585, 2649, 2715, 2770, 2817, 2859, 2923, 2988, 3114, 3186,[1] 3261, 3343, 3424, 3504, 3582, 3664, 3744, 3827, 3904, 3983.

Here there is a hiatus in the history of the manuscript. Regular work did not begin again till l. 4307.

4438, 4531, 4589, 4657, 4719, 4785, 4849, 4914, 5038, 5101,

[1] The Roundels begin at 3139 and finish at 4320.

5165, 5230, 5294, 5358, 5423, 5485, 5549, 5623, 5687, 5752, 5816, 5882, 5947, 6012, 6076, 6140, 6206, 6270, 6334, 6373. The manuscript ends on l. 6533.

II. A second numeration occurs which may be called the 10, 20, 30 count. It stops at line 5461. For convenience I substitute here *a*, *b*, *c*, for 10, 20, 30.

118*c* ; 199*a*, 279*b*, 359*c* ; 455*a*, 535*b*, 615*c* ; 711*a*, 792*b*, 872*c*[1] ; 968*a*, 1048*b*, 1128*c* ; 1224*a*, 1304*b*, 1384*c* ; 1480*a*, 1560*b*, 1640*c* ; 1736*a*, 1816*b*, 1896*c* ; 1992*a*, 2072*b*, 2153*c* ; 2249*a*, 2329*b*, 2409*c*[2] ; 2505*a*, 2584*b*, 2664*c* ; 2769*a*, 2861*b*, 2941*c* ; 3040*a*, 3118*b* ; 3248*a*, 3354*b*, 3460*c* ; 3589*a*, 3706*b*, 3815*c* ; 4012*b* ; 4703*c* ; 4799*a*, 4942*b* ; 5202*b* ; 5461*a*.

The average length of a section is thus 256 lines divided as 96, 80, 80.

III. A third count is marked by a circle with cross ⊕.

119, 375, 631, 888, 1144, 1400, 1656, 1912, 2169, 2425, 2680, 2957, 3478, 3844, 4149, 4387, 4719, 5041, 5378.

The average length of the count is 256 lines.

IV and V. Two other counts were then made, marked by a crossed circle and triangle ⊕▷, one apparently a correction of the other. They have a different starting-point from the preceding counts.

(*a*) 184, 440, 695, 948, 1204, 1460, 1716, 1972, 2229, 2485, 2749, 3018, 3328, 3689, 4050.

(*b*) 186, 441, 699, 952, 1208, 1464, 1720, 1976, 2233, 2489, 2958, 3019, 3331, 3690, 4056.

(*a*) 4685, 4940, 5196, 5451, 5707, 5961, 6220.

(*b*) 4688, 4944, 5200, 5456, 5709.

The counts are evidently aiming at a 256 line count.

[1] xviij in margin.   [2] cest 40 d.

VI. Lastly comes the final numeration by the corrector. It is a count by each seven lines, numbered 1 . . . 10, 20, . . . c.

line 307 is the 700th line and is marked in the margin x d.

1009 is cc. marked xx d ; 1709 is ccc marked xxx d ; 2410 cccc 40 d ; 3143 ccccc. (The count breaks off at l. 4012, begins again at 4321), 4387 cccccc (heder to ys don), 5142 c. The count ends at l. 5464.

This is evidently the count by which payment was made, at a rate of 70 lines a penny—whether from the author to the middleman or the middleman to the actual scribe. It would seem that the author found the vellum, as ten leaves ruled originally for folios were used as quartos. As these leaves are not palimpsests it is interesting to remark that four of them have signatures—showing that the signature was sometimes inserted before the manuscript was written.

Counts I and II evidently began at the beginning of the manuscript. Count III evidently began some 87 lines later, counts IV and V a few lines earlier, count VI at the beginning. The modern numeration has one line too many after l. 783, and two after l. 3360.

The collation of Harley 682 is in eights : a missing, b–n, o missing, o*–v. Sheets s, t, v are not marked for numbering. As o* is not numbered, it must have been written after sheet r.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MODERN-FACE
ROMAN

By A. F. JOHNSON

D U R I N G the eighteenth century the design of our roman types underwent a radical change, resulting in the style which we know as modern-face, the type of the nineteenth century and still the type used in our newspapers and most of our books. It therefore becomes important to define what we mean by modern-face. A roman which embodies the three following characteristics : (*a*) flat and un-bracketed serifs, (*b*) abrupt and exaggerated modelling, (*c*) vertical shading, we shall call modern-face. Flat serifs, though not unknown in the history of calligraphy, were an innovation in typography about the year 1700 ; hitherto they had invariably been inclined, and further triangular, that is to say the under part of the serif was not parallel to the upper part. The modelling, that is the gradation from the thick part of the stroke to the thin part, had been gradual. The thickest part of the round letters, such as c, e, g, and o, did not come at the middle of the down stroke, but slightly below the middle, or, in the o and g, the two thickened parts were not horizontally opposite each other, but more or less diagonally opposite. This meant that the angle of shading ran diagonally, more or less, across the page, and not vertically up and down. This is in accordance with script made with a pen held at an angle, the natural way. If an o is written with a broad-nibbed pen held at an angle, it will be seen that the thickest lines are diagonally opposite. In fact the old-style roman, based on a hand-drawn letter, still shows traces of that origin. By the year 1700, the professional calligraphers, whose work was reproduced on copper-engraved plates, had begun to hold the pen at right-

Y y

Caslon	Baskerville	Modern-face
m	m	m
e	e	e
g	g	g
r	r	r

1. Specimen letters, comparing Caslon, Baskerville, and a modern-face.

angles to the paper, to produce vertical shading, and to reduce
their thin strokes to hair-lines. In a study of Baskerville roman
by Mrs. Warde published in *The Monotype Recorder*, Sept.–
Oct. 1927, this point was illustrated by a plate from George
Shelley's *Alphabets in All Hands*, *c.* 1715, and Mrs. Warde
pointed out that Baskerville, a writing-master in his earlier
days, was translating into type a style that was already in
vogue among the calligraphers. The whole question of the
evolution of roman from old-style to modern-face is largely a
question of technique, rather than the rejection of one design
for another on a definite principle. In typography we shall
find that mechanical improvements in the printing-press and
changes in the texture of paper allowed the engraver of types
to produce effects which would have been impossible in early
days.   It was useless for a Garamond to cut a delicately
modelled serif which the processes of reproduction available
would have obscured.

The normal nineteenth-century type is definitely modern-
face, showing all the characteristics of our definition, often
with additional aggravations. Apart altogether from fat-faced
types, the habit of producing condensed types in the modern
style has made much nineteenth-century typography even
more unpleasing than it need have been. The narrow capital
M, for instance, of the average modern-face, viewed by itself,
is simply an eyesore. The exaggerated and abrupt modelling,
coupled with mathematically vertical shading, resulted in a
rigid and mechanical letter which was an abomination to men
like William Morris. If one may judge by the typography of
our leading printers of to-day, one may conclude that there
are few of our typographers who would defend this modern-
face. If we confine the term modern-face to such types, it
becomes difficult to label many types of the eighteenth century
except by some such vague and unsatisfactory epithet as
transitional. How many of the characteristics of modern-face

Il pose ce fondement tant de son histoire que de sa doctrine et de ses lois. Après, il nous fait voir tous les hommes renfermés en un seul homme, et sa femme même tirée de lui; la concorde des mariages et la société du genre humain établie sur ce fondement; la perfection et la puissance de l'homme, tant qu'il porte l'image de Dieu en entier; son empire sur les animaux; son innocence tout ensemble et sa félicité dans le Paradis, dont la mémoire s'est conservée dans l'âge d'or des poètes; le précepte divin donné à nos premiers parents; la malice de l'esprit tentateur, et son apparition sous la forme du serpent; la faute d'Adam et d'Eve, funeste à leur postérité; le premier homme justement puni dans tous ses enfants, et le genre humain maudit de Dieu; la première promesse de la rédemption, et la victoire future des hommes sur le démon qui les a perdus.

La terre commence à se remplir, et les crimes s'augmentent. Cain, le premier enfant d'Adam et d'Eve, fait voir au monde naissant la première action tragique; et la vertu commence dès-lors à être persécutée par le vice. Là paraissent les caractères opposés des frères, l'innocence d'Abel, sa vie pastorale, et ses offrandes

2. Philippe Grandjean's 'Romain du Roi'.

(Épreuve d'un nouveau caractère. Imprimerie Royale, 1702.)

are to be present in a type before it can be classified as such ?
Serifs may be flat, but still bracketed ; shading may be vertical
in part, that is vertical in some round letters and not in others,
and may be accompanied by modelling of various degrees of
exaggeration. Any decision must be somewhat arbitrary.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century it was decided
that a new series of roman and italic types should be cut for
the exclusive use of the Imprimerie Royale, of which Jean
Anisson had recently become director. The aid of the Acadé-
mie des Sciences was called in, and in 1692 a committee of
experts was appointed, with the Abbé Jaugeon as chairman.
A lengthy report was presented in which an elaborate con-
struction of each letter, on a mathematical basis, was attempted.
One of the squares, divided and subdivided into 2,304 small
squares, which was to control the construction of each letter,
was reproduced by Thibaudeau in his *La Lettre de l'Imprimerie*.
The manuscript has never been printed and we are not told
whether it contains any discussion of the principles of letter
design other than this geometrical fantasy, which was probably
as useless to the engraver Philippe Grandjean as the theories of
Geofroy Tory had been to Garamond. Whether Grandjean's
design was that recommended by Jaugeon and his collaborators
is left in doubt, but certainly the M reproduced in Thibaudeau
is not Grandjean's. By 1702 the sizes first cut were ready and
the types were used for the printing of the *Médailles sur les
principeaux évènements du règne de Louis le Grand*. This roman
has flat, unbracketed serifs, and on the ascenders of the lower
case the serifs run across to the right as well as the left. The
shading is more vertical and the modelling rather more than
in the old-style. On the left side of the l there is a small flick,
such as at one time had been usual in gothic types. Here it was
probably adopted as a distinguishing mark, and this was perhaps
also the reason for the cross serifs. We may note also the
bottom serif to the b, the flat bottom serif to the u, and the

curly-tailed eighteenth-century R. The modern-face is im-
plicit in this design, and yet to a casual observer it would
appear old-style. This is because the modelling is only slightly
more pronounced and because there are no hair-lines. Tech-
nique was not yet sufficiently advanced to allow of the true
modern-face. The modernness of the design is perhaps more
evident when it is used with modern methods of printing. For
example in the Abbé de Liebersac's *Discours sur les monumens
publics*, 1775, printed with Anisson-Duperon's improved press,
and the modern revivals by Arthur Christian in his *Débuts de
l'Imprimerie*, 1905.

Type-founders were forbidden to copy these ' romains du
roi '. Consequently many romans cut by Paris engravers at
later dates were less modern than this Grandjean design. But
that the types of the Imprimerie were in fact copied, we know
on the evidence of Pierre François Didot, le Jeune. In 1783
that printer was accused of imitating these types, and in his
defence protested against the injustice of his being accused,
whereas he was only a printer and several type-founders had for
years shown designs like the ' romains du roi '. He instances
Sanlecque in 1742 and says that the same types afterwards
appeared in the specimen books of Gando. He says that
Madame Hérissant had printed Réaumur's *Histoire des Insectes*
in type of this style in 1742, and admits that he himself had
used another in Houel's *Voyage de Sicile*, of which the first
volume had appeared in 1782.[1] The type of the Houel has in
fact flat serifs, the double serifs, and even the flick on the l.
Pierre Didot l'Aîné has something to say about Grandjean
and Alexandre, his successor, in the notes to his *Épître sur les
progrès de l'Imprimerie*, 1786. ' Leurs caractéres romains sont
' à-peu-près imités de ceux de Garamond pour la forme de la
' lettre ; seulement ils l'ont chargé de traits horizontaux qui
' la défigurent.' To Didot, who was then printing with the

_____
[1] See Bernard, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Royale*, 1867, pp. 96, 97.

modern types of his brother Firmin, the ' romains du roi ' were not much removed from old-style.

Grandjean's work was continued by Jean Alexandre and finally completed by Louis Luce, who cut the smallest size, ' perle '—there were in all twenty-one sizes of roman and italic. Luce, in addition to his work as punch-cutter to the Imprimerie Royale, cut on his own account a number of other romans displayed in his *Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie*, 1771. In the ' Avertissement ' of this specimen Luce explains wherein his types differ from the ' romains du roi '. He says that his serifs are on the left side only and that they are inclined (as a matter of fact in the larger sizes they are flat). He gives as a reason for preferring the inclined serif that such was the natural stroke of the pen and that types are derived from the hands of the calligraphers. He says further that his letters are more oval, that is to say more condensed, and guards himself from the charge of copying the Dutch by pointing to the delicacy of the serifs and the general harmony of his types. This is the most striking characteristic of the Luce romans, their condensation. He declares that he had published proofs of his types in 1732 and complains that his ideas had been stolen. There is clearly here an allusion to Pierre Simon Fournier, who copied not only the Luce ornaments, shown in the little specimens of the ' perle ' roman and italic of 1740, but also his roman and italic. Fournier was the better designer, but the idea of his ' poétique ', a condensed letter intended for the printing of the long verses of the French Alexandrine without breaking into a second line, was derived from Luce.

The house of Didot is one of the illustrious families in the annals of typography. About the year 1789 there were no less than seven members of the family engaged in the various branches of the book trade at Paris, the two brothers François Ambroise (retired in 1789), with his two sons, and Pierre

Le prix de l'exemplaire, composé de deux volumes in-4° sur papier-vélin de la fabrique de messieurs Matthieu Johannot pere et fils, d'Annonai, premiers fabricants de cette sorte de papiers en France, et orné de quarante et une planches y compris le frontispice, sera de douze louis. Les souscripteurs ne feront aucune avance, et ne paieront qu'à mesure qu'ils recevront la partie de l'ouvrage achevée. Il sera partagé en quatre livraisons, composées chacune de dix planches et de la partie du texte correspondante.

La premiere livraison paroîtra dans le mois de juin de cette année 1784; en la recevant on paiera quatre louis. La seconde paroîtra dix mois après la premiere, et alors on paiera quatre autres louis. Les deux dernieres livraisons se feront de même de dix en dix mois successivement; et l'on paiera deux louis pour chacune. Ainsi, à-peu-près à l'époque fixée dans le premier prospectus, l'ouvrage sera complet; et l'on espere qu'il n'éprouvera plus de retard.

3. F. A. Didot's modern-face roman *Avis* of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, 1784.

François, with three sons. The elder branch, 'l'aîné', was the more important, and the most important member of the family from our point of view was F. A. Didot's younger son Firmin (1764–1836). The father, F. A. Didot, was both printer and type-founder, and among other appointments which he held was that of printer to the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles IX, whilst his brother P. F. was printer to Monsieur, the King's eldest brother, afterwards Louis XVII. This royal patronage had doubtless its part in encouraging the cutting of new types. A. F. Didot (see his *Essai sur la typographie*, 1852) says that one Waflard engraved the first types of his grandfather, F. A. Didot. This Waflard, or Pierre Louis Vaflard, is mentioned by Lottin as a type-founder and pupil of Gando. But there seems to be no record of any actual types cut by him, and possibly this man has been given too much prominence in the history of the Didot types. In Thibaudeau's *Lettre de l'Imprimerie* a reproduction of Waflard's types is given (cf. Updike, ii. 176), but there seems to be no authority for the attribution. They are more probably Firmin Didot's types. There is further uncertainty in the text-books as to the dates of the first new Didot types. M. Marius Audin, in *Le Livre*, 1924, and Mr. Updike say about 1775. The letter to the *Mercure de France* quoted in Audin, pp. 73, 74, appeared in 1783. The writer, Anisson, director of the Imprimerie Royale, extols Garamond and Baskerville as against the new Didot letters (see Coyecque, *Collection d'Anisson*, ii. 450). In that year F. A. Didot printed three French classics in quarto, seven volumes in all, intended for the use of the Dauphin, Fénélon's *Télémaque*, a Racine, and a Corneille. All are printed in a transitional roman of a very light cut. The type had appeared already in 1782 in a prospectus of a book on the engravings of E. S. Bartoli (see Updike, fig. 162). Mr. Updike's figs. 163 and 164 show similar ' maigre ' romans, one of them being called a ' gras ' notwithstanding its extreme lightness. This last was

ÉPÎTRE

SUR

LES PROGRÈS

DE L'IMPRIMERIE.

PAR DIDOT, FILS AÎNÉ.

used in a book printed by P. F. Didot, le jeune, who had started a foundry in 1783. An edition of the works of Fénélon, of which the first volume was printed in 1787 by F. A. Didot, is also set in a ' maigre '. But already in 1784 there had appeared another type cut in the foundry of F. A. Didot, a type which is of great importance in the history of roman. We reproduce a page from the 'Avis' of an edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, of which the first part is announced for June 1784. Following the definition of modern-face given above, we must accept this type as a modern-face and the first of its class. The thin, flat serifs, the verticality and abruptness of the shading (contrast the e of this type with that of any earlier roman) make this roman different only in degree of shading from the founts which Firmin Didot was later to cut. And yet the fact that the shading is not too exaggerated, together with the great skill of the engraver, make this roman of 1784 a far better type than the later designs which the Didots themselves came to prefer. In the same year F. A. Didot printed an octavo edition of *Télémaque* in a smaller size of the roman. Whether or not these two sizes were the work of Firmin Didot, by 1786 he had certainly produced two smaller sizes of the same design. These are found in the second (1786) edition of Pierre Didot's *Épître sur les progrès de l'Imprimerie* (in this second edition the *Épître* follows his *Fables nouvelles*) and Pierre expressly states that the 8-pt. roman of the text and the 9-pt. of the ' Avertissement ', as well as the italic of the notes, were cut by his brother. The italic in which the first edition of 1784 was printed he says was cut a year ago, i.e. in 1783, by Firmin at the age of nineteen (he was born 14 April 1764). This italic had already been used in the books of 1783.

In the page reproduced from the prospectus of the Tasso it will be seen that attention is drawn to the paper on which the book is to be printed, *papier-vélin*, that is, wove paper, made by the Johannot of Annonay. In most of the Didot books of

this period the use of *papier-vélin* is specially mentioned. There appear to have been three French firms who were manufacturing wove paper about this time, the Johannot, Réveillon at Courtalin, and the Montgolfier at Vidalon. Pierre Didot claimed to be the initiator in this case, and he states his case in the notes to the *Épître*, where he admits that Baskerville had printed his *Virgil* of 1757 on wove paper. M. Marius Audin in his article *De l'origine du papier vélin* (Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 1928) has shown that the Montgolfier had a better claim to be considered the first French manufacturers. Whether Didot states the position with strict fairness is not our concern here, but it should be noticed that the use of wove paper gave a sharper impression, a result which was imperative with the delicately cut types which the Didots were introducing. Another technical development which served a similar purpose was an improved press now being used both by Didot and by Anisson at the Imprimerie Royale. The notes to the *Épître*, which are full of interest, include a relevant passage, in which Didot asserts that Anisson had copied the principle of the press introduced by his father, F. A. Didot. The note is appended to a passage about Baskerville, which reads : ' Il n'y sut réformer un vice originaire Et n'en obtint jamais qu'un tirage inégal.' The vice, says Didot, was due to the two pulls necessary with the old presses, in which the platen was only half the size of the forme, so that it had to be brought down twice for the printing of one sheet. There is an interesting passage on this ' two pulls to the forme ' in R. B. McKerrow's *An Introduction to Bibliography*, 1927, pp. 61–3, where the author dates the change to the larger platen at about 1800. The Didots were using such reformed presses by 1783 and claimed that a better impression was thereby obtained.

The Didot modern-face roman was again used in a Latin Bible of 1785 and in an edition of Bossuet's *Discours* of 1786. In 1788 the other branch of the family, P. F. Didot, produced

an edition of the *De Imitatione Christi*, in new types by Henri Didot, son of P. F., which are almost modern-face ; in this fount the verticality of the shading is not completely carried out, as may be seen in the e. Again attention is drawn to the *papier vélin*. But Firmin Didot was not content to stop here. His delight at his own skill in cutting fine hair-lines led him on to an over-modelling of his types, which became a European fashion and the hall-mark of what are called classical types. The continuation can be seen in the *Lucan* of 1795, described as being printed ' typis P. Didot ', though in fact they were cut by Firmin. Pierre Didot began a foundry of his own only in 1809. The full flower of the Didot modern-face can be seen in the *Virgil* of 1798 and the famous Louvre editions. These books won universal, or almost universal, praise, and as a result Firmin Didot in 1812 was invited to reform the typography of the Imprimerie Impériale. Pierre Didot himself started a foundry, and with the help of Vibert, an engraver trained by Firmin, produced the series of modern-face types shown in his specimen of 1819. These he preferred to the Baskerville letters which he had purchased as a curiosity and which, as we shall see, he was anxious to dispose of. The Didot modern-face remained the standard letter in France and for the mass of books is still the normal design in use to-day. Although some French printers have joined in the revival of old-style, the general typography has changed far less than in England. A glance at any dozen recent novels printed in France will show that the Didot tradition is by no means broken.

And yet there were protests even when Firmin Didot was at the height of his fame. In *The Fleuron*, no. VI, Mr. Updike gave a translation of a speech by one Citizen Sobry delivered in the year VII (1800) to the ' Societé libre des Sciences, Arts et Lettres de Paris ', relating to the types of Gillé fils, a follower of Didot. Sobry declares that Garamond's types are more legible than Didot's, because Garamond emphasized those

Hancce ego editionem, novos et, confidenter dicam, notorum hucusque omnium elegantis= simos fratris mei Firmini Didot typos exhiben= tem; puraque et candidiore charta, a consan= guineo nostro Didot *d'Essone* feliciter con= fecta, nitentem; simul et viginti tribus æneis tabulis perite incisis, et ab egregiis pictoribus Gerard et Girodet (qui proximos utriusque magistro David honores in arte sua occupant) delineatis, exornatam; ipse vigiliis curaque

5. Didot modern-face. From the *Virgil* of 1798.

parts of the shape of his types which distinguished them from one another, while Didot emphasized the parts which are common to all ; cf. for instance the u and n. He prefers the deep colour of Garamond to the grey of Didot, and declares that the Didots were led into error by copying the lettering of the engravers. According to Sobry, the last of the Anissons, who died in 1794 ' révolutionnairement ', always refused to adopt the Didot letter at the Imprimerie Nationale.

Anisson and Sobry were isolated cases, and most of the European typographers were seduced by Didot. The most famous of them, Giovanni Battista Bodoni of Parma, followed in his footsteps. By 1785 he had cut types like the early Didot modern-faces, used for instance for the Italian text of the *Lettre à M. le Marquis de Cubières*—the French text is set in a cursive, called by Bodoni ' Cancellaresca '—and his name is especially associated with the fully developed modern-face. This was because he was the most famous printer in Europe in his day, although as a designer of roman types he was never anything but an imitator of the French. In Germany the Berlin type-founder, J. F. Unger, who is chiefly known for his light-faced Fraktur, received the sole agency for Didot types. A *Sallust* printed by him in 1790 is an example of his use of the Didot roman. In May of 1790 J. C. L. Prillwitz of Jena published his *Proben neuer Didotschen Lettern,* which led to disputes with Unger. Prillwitz's letters are so poor that Unger's objections might have seemed unnecessary. Breitkopf was also drawn into the discussion. The Leipzig founder seems to have been piqued because he had lost the chance of securing the agency.[1] Charles Enschedé's book[2] shows examples of copies of Didot in Holland towards the end of the century. Anthony Bessemer, a Dutchman at work in Paris in 1795, supplied the

[1] See E. Crous, *Die erste Probe Didotscher Lettern aus der Schriftgiesserei J. C. L. Prillwitz,* 1926.
[2] *Fonderies de caractères dans les Pays-Bas,* 1908.

Enschedés with a Cicero roman and italic, which are thoroughly modern-face. In 1792 Hendrik van Staden had cut letters ' naar de snee van Mr. Dido, à Paris '.

The first English printer who modified the old-style roman in England was John Baskerville of Birmingham. He began work on his new types in 1750 and by 1754 had produced a specimen in the form of a prospectus of the forthcoming *Virgil*, which finally appeared in 1757. Baskerville was well known on the Continent and is generally said to have had much influence on Didot and Bodoni. But his influence seems to have been rather as a printer than as a designer of types. We have seen that his wove paper was copied in France, and his formula for book-production, his spaced capitals and leaded pages, re-appear in the books of the so-called classical printers. But in pure typography there seems to be no trace of a Baskerville school outside Great Britain, except of course in the use of actual Baskerville types. Didot proceeded from the ' romain du roi ' and would have so proceeded if Baskerville had never printed. Even in England, where there was a Baskerville period in typography, the modern-face came from the French, and not as a development from Baskerville.

A comparison of the Baskerville and Caslon romans will show in what manner the former modified the old-style. As a writing-master himself he brought the contemporary practice of the calligraphers into typography. His types are rather more modelled and their shading rather more vertical than that of the Caslon letters. Contrast, for instance, the distribution of weight in the e. As a result of the greater modelling, the counters of the round letters are larger and the type as a whole is lighter. But the serifs are still inclined and bracketed, nor are the thin lines excessively thin ; therefore the roman has in general much more the appearance of old-style than of modern-face. Of individual letters, the Q with its new tail and the curly-tailed R (in some sizes only) are conspicuous.

In the lower-case the tail of the g is not quite closed, and the w (upper case also) has no serif on the centre stroke. These are helpful as 'spot' letters, especially the w in texts in English.

Baskerville died in 1775 and the fate of his stock has been a curious one. Messrs. Straus and Dent (*John Baskerville*, 1904) give details of various printers at Birmingham and in the neighbourhood, including his own foreman Robert Martin, who had strikes of the types. But the main stock was sold to Beaumarchais, who intended to produce an edition of the works of Voltaire at his press at Kehl, near Strasburg. A prospectus was issued in 1782, and the first volume appeared in 1784, the very year in which the Didots produced the first modern-face. The Voltaire was completed in 1790, and further books in Baskerville, including several works by Alfieri, continued to appear from the press at Kehl down to 1809. Even before the sale to Beaumarchais some of the type seems to have reached the Continent. Tomas de Yriarte's *La Musica*, *Poema*, Madrid, Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1779, has Baskerville italics, and Baskerville roman is used for the notes.[1] At some time during the Republic the types were offered for sale in Paris, as may be gathered from a reproduction in Updike (fig. 272). Apparently they were not then disposed of, but were acquired at a later date by Pierre Didot in the manner described in his letter here reproduced. Evidently Didot had not the slightest intention of using them himself. The offer was not accepted by the English peer and the types remained in France, where they have occasionally been used. Of recent years the Harvard University Press have acquired strikes, and in 1924, under the charge of Mr. Bruce Rogers, printed *The Portraits of Increase Mather* in original Baskerville. Since then the type has been chosen for their already famous edition of the papers of James Boswell, which is now going through the press. In England it may be recorded that William Pickering once

[1] Mr. Bruce Rogers has a copy.

3 A

Le 16 Janvier 1819.

My Lord,

J'ai fait depuis peu l'acquisition de tous les types de Baskerville, c'est à dire de tous ses poinçons en acier, et de toutes ses matrices de cuivre, en nombre d'environ vingt deux caractères différents depuis le plus petit jusqu'au plus gros romain et italique. C'est l'ensemble d'une des plus belles fonderies qui existent; et je l'ai acheté par occasion, et simplement comme objet de curiosité, n'ayant pas eu envie d'y mettre un grand prix, ma nouvelle fonderie à laquelle je travaille depuis huit années consécutives étant bientôt terminée. Cette fonderie de Baskerville se compose de plus de trois milles poinçons en acier, et d'autant de matrices. Beaumarchais la lui a payée vingt mille livres sterling. C'est de Madame Delarue, fille de Beaumarchais, que j'ai fait cette acquisition, partie en argent, partie en éditions imprimées par moi. Si, comme objet de curiosité, ce bel ensemble de types anglais parait vous convenir, j'ai l'honneur de vous le proposer pour le prix de six mille francs. De plus, dans quelque pays que ce fût, cette fonderie pouvroit encore faire un état à quelqu'un que vous auriez intention de récompenser, ou d'encourager.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect, my Lord, Votre très humble et obéissant serviteur.

P. Didot, l'ainé.

6. Baskerville letter, discovered by Mr. Robin Flower (see *The Library*, 1909, p. 251 seq.). Set in monotype Baskerville.

used Baskerville in an edition of Juliana Berner's *Fishing with an Angle*, 1827, printed by Thomas White.

In spite of the fact that there was not sufficient enthusiasm for the Baskerville types to secure their preservation in England, yet the leading type-founders were paying him the compliment of imitating his designs. The early specimens of Isaac Moore of Bristol, the type-cutter to the Fry foundry, show romans which owe much to Baskerville. The distribution of weight and the modelling, as well as minor points like the tail of the g and the pointed apex of the A, are evidences of this fact, and in *The Printer's Grammar*, 1787, where the Fry types are shown, the debt is admitted. In the Fry specimen of 1785 it is expressly stated in the preface that the types are modelled on those of William Caslon. But in fact this is only true of the smaller sizes, the larger being still the 'Baskerville' types of Moore. Baskerville was dead and was not a competitor in the type-founding business. That the romans shown in Alexander Wilson's, the Glasgow founder's, specimen sheet of 1772 are derived from the same source is generally admitted. William Martin, brother of Robert Martin, who worked with Baskerville, made some reputation towards the end of the century by the types which he cut for the Shakespeare Press, the favourite types of William Bulmer.[1] These too are of the Baskerville school, as is particularly evident in the case of the italic. The excellent roman shown in Vincent Figgins's first specimen of 1793 is another example, and yet another is supplied by William Caslon III, after he had separated from the original Caslon firm and had bought the foundry of Joseph Jackson. His transitional roman appears in his specimen of 1798. The last quarter of the eighteenth century might well be described as the Baskerville period in English printing, both on account of the number of Baskerville designs which had been put on the

[1] See H. V. Marrot's *William Bulmer*, 1930.

The modern or new fashioned faced printing type at present in use was introduced by the French, about twenty years ago, the old shaped letters being capable of some improvement...but unfortunately for the typographic art, a transition was made from one extreme to its opposite: thus instead of having letters somewhat too clumsy, we now have them with hair lines so extremely thin as to render it impossible for them to preserve their delicacy beyond a few applications of the lye-brush, or the most careful distribution; thus may types be said to be in a worn state ere they are well got to work. The hair lines being now below the surface of the main strokes of the letters, the Printer, in order to get an impression of all parts of the face, is obliged to use a softer backing, and additional pressure...In forcing the paper down to meet the depressed part of the face, it at the same time takes off the impression of part of the sides, as is evident from the ragged appearance of printing from such types.

7. Type cut for John Bell by Richard Austin. Set in the original type by the Cambridge University Press.

market and because his formula for book-production had been widely adopted.

In 1788 John Bell of the British Letter Foundry issued his first specimen of type cut by Richard Austin. Attention was called to the important and beautiful Austin letters, still in the possession of Messrs. Stephenson and Blake, by Mr. Stanley Morison in an article ' Towards an Ideal Italic ' in *The Fleuron*, no. V. Mr. Morison calls it ' our first independent design ' and further says, ' while maintaining a predominantly old-face character, [it] exhibits tendencies towards the modern-face '. Elsewhere (*The Times*, Printing Supplement, 1929) he has called it the first English modern-face. It is significant that John Bell was in Paris in 1785, visiting the printers and type-founders. There are copies of his specimens of 1788 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in the Anisson collection. The type seems to be inspired by the Didot letter of 1784, which we have called the first modern-face. There are a few reminiscences of Baskerville, for instance the Q, and some of the italic capitals, but these are minor points. Although reminding one of the early Didot, yet Austin's roman stops short of Didot in several important particulars. The serifs are flat (in the ' English ' size the serifs at the top of the ascenders are not quite flat, but they are in the larger size), but they are bracketed, and very delicately shaped. The underpart of the serifs is a semicircle. The shading is not quite vertical, note the e, and is far from abrupt. The designer has supplied two K's and two R's, the curly-tailed and the earlier form, and two t's, the modern where the cross-stroke is not bracketed, and the old form. He shows also a short-ranging J and modern figures. Mr. Morison seems to be justified in calling it an independent design, but according to our definition it should not be classed as a modern-face, or, at any rate, not without limitation. It may be added that the type was used occasionally by William Bulmer, as in Sir William Drummond's *Philosophical Sketches*,

issued anonymously in 1795.[1]   The roman which Mr. Updike
used for the text of his *Printing Types*, called 'Oxford' and
originally cut by Binney and Ronaldson of Philadelphia, seems
to have some affinity with Austin's.

Austin under the pressure of fashion went on to cut several
series of modern-face types, although during the years when
the full modern-face was becoming fashionable in England he
appears to have been engaged as an engraver of ornaments, the
British Letter Foundry having failed in 1798.   He cut modern
types for the Wilson foundry at Glasgow and for William
Miller at Edinburgh.   By 1819 he had a foundry of his own
in London, in Worship St., called the Imperial Letter Foundry,
and a specimen was issued in 1827.   Austin himself had died in
1825, but the interesting introduction to the book of 1827 had
clearly been written by Austin some time before.   He says:
'The modern or new fashioned faced printing type at present
'in use was introduced by the French, about twenty years ago,
'the old shaped letters being capable of some improvement . . .
'but unfortunately for the typographic art, a transition was
'made from one extreme to the opposite: thus instead of
'having letters somewhat too clumsy, we now have them with
'hair lines so extremely thin as to render it impossible for them
'to preserve their delicacy beyond a few applications of the
'lye-brush, or the most careful distribution; thus may types
'be said to be in a worn state ere they are well got to work.
'The hair lines being now below the surface of the main
'strokes of the letters, the Printer, in order to get an impression
'of all parts of the face, is obliged to use a softer backing, and
'additional pressure . . .   In forcing the paper down to meet
'the depressed part of the face, it at the same time takes off the
'impression of part of the sides, as is evident from the ragged
'appearance of printing from such types.'   He goes on to say

[1] See Mr. Morison's *John Bell*, 1930, for further details of the Austin letter
and its history.

that the types of thirty years ago were better, and further that the punches of the Imperial Letter Foundry will be cut in a peculiar manner, ' to assist this useful invention ' [stereotyping]. What the peculiar manner is we are not told, but at any rate Austin seems to have avoided the evil results which he describes by shaping his serifs and avoiding hair-lines. His complaint against the modern-face seems to be made on technical grounds, but at least we may draw the conclusion that he was not responsible for introducing the French new-fashioned faced types. His type of thirty years ago, the John Bell type, he would consider as belonging to an earlier and better period of letter-founding.

John Bell's periodical *The Oracle* was printed in the early Austin type from 1792, and this fact seems to have influenced newspaper typography. The type was copied by Fry, and later, in November 1799, *The Times* appeared in a new type from the Caslon foundry. In his article on 'Newspaper Types' already mentioned, Mr. Morison shows this letter, which he describes as modern. It is like the Austin type in its bracketed serifs, gradual shading, and not quite vertical colour. When compared with a type cut by Robert Thorne in 1800 the contrast is striking. In Thorne's letter we have an undoubted modern-face, which so far as recorded appears to be the first to answer the definition of modern-face which we have given. This letter of 1800 appeared in Thorne's specimen book of 1803, where all the letters described as new are modern-face ; another one is dated 1802. In the preface Thorne calls them ' improved printing types '. For some reason or other this new letter was highly popular and the other type-founders soon followed Thorne's example. Fry issued a specimen including some modern-faces in the same year as Thorne, 1803 ; these, together with the new letters of the Caslon firm, were shown in Stower's *Printer's Grammar*, 1808, where regret is expressed that Figgins's new letters were not yet ready. That the Fry

Quousque tandem abutere Catilina,
patientia nostra? quamdiu nos etiam
furor iste tuus eludet? quem ad
finem sese effrenata jactabit auda-
cia? nihilne te nocturnum præsi-
dium palatii, nihil consensus bono-
rum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus
habendi senatus locus, nihil horum
ora vultusque moverunt? patere
tua consilia non sentis? constrictam
jam omnium horum conscientia te-
neri conjurationem tuam non vides?
quid proxima, quid superiore nocte
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRST
UVWXYZÆŒ œ £1234567890

A BC DEFGHIJK LMNOPQRSTUVWXYZÆ

8. Robert Thorne's modern-face.   From his Specimen Book of 1803.

Foundry was following the compulsion of fashion rather than their own wish is evident from some words of Dr. Edmund Fry, the head of the firm, in the circular issued at the time of the sale of his foundry in 1828. After referring to the revolution in the type-founding trade, he says : ' The Baskerville and ' Caslon imitations . . . were laid by for ever ; and many ' thousand pounds worth of new letters in Founts . . . were ' taken from the shelves, and carried to the melting-pot to be ' recast into Types, no doubt in many instances more beautiful ; ' but no instance has occurred in the attentive observation of the ' Proprietor of this Foundry where any Founts of book letters ' on the present system, have been found equal in service, or ' really so agreeable to the reader, as the true *Caslon*-shaped ' Elzevir types.' It is a curious fact that the principal type-founders—the Caslons in their specimens of 1825 refer with regret to the original Caslon types no longer shown—and connoisseurs such as Hansard in his *Typographia*, are all agreed in condemning the new fashion, and yet all were forced to follow the taste of the day. Thorne appears to have enjoyed his success and went on to further exaggerations, to the cutting of fat-faced types, which in turn were imported into France. So far as the evidence of the type-specimen books goes, Thorne appears to be the founder who was responsible for sponsoring the full modern-face in England.

3 B

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

As his sub-title warns us, Sir Edmund Chambers is not con-
cerned in these two volumes with the literary or aesthetic
criticism of Shakespeare's works. What he offers in them is an
admirable summary of facts which have been ascertained and
an interesting series of discussions of the problems with which
Shakespeare students have been concerned, more especially
during the last twenty years. The facts are predominant in his
second volume, made up of (i) 185 pages of records, invaluable
for reference ; (ii) another fifty of contemporary allusions,
and (iii) sixty-five devoted to the exposition and criticism of
what he calls ' The Shakespeare-Mythos ', i.e. the stories and
theories which lack authentication. On these follow a long list
of ' Performances of Plays from 1588 to 1638 ', a dissertation
on ' the name Shakespeare ', a ' List of Shakespeare Fabrica-
tions ', a ' Table of Quartos', ' Metrical Tables ' (which will
certainly prove more trustworthy than those of Fleay and some
of his followers), and a long ' List of Books mainly intended to
elucidate the footnote references '. The value of all this is very
great and will be permanent.

Volume I opens with three chapters on ' Shakespeare's
Origin ', ' The Stage in 1592 ', and ' Shakespeare and his Com-
pany ', for writing which their author has qualified himself by
the studies which have occupied his leisure since he left Oxford.
On these follow three more chapters dealing with the subjects
with which students have mainly been concerned during the
last twenty years : ' The Book of the Play ', that is what we
now call the Prompt Copy, and all the facts concerning it ;
' The Quartos and the First Folio ', an admirable summary on
which I have hardly any criticisms to offer ; and ' Plays in the
Printing House ', in which such questions are discussed as the

extent to which the printers of Shakespeare's day followed their author's copy in the matter of spelling and punctuation, and the apportionment of the responsibility for errors between authors and printers. Then come larger problems: 'The Problem of Authenticity', which is made to include all the vexed questions as to possible collaborations and revisions, and 'The Problem of Chronology', in which Sir Edmund works out his own theories as to the succession and dates of the plays printed in the First Folio. The second half of this volume is concerned with the detailed examination of 'The Plays of the First Folio', 'The Plays outside the First Folio', and 'The Poems and Sonnets'. With all these Sir Edmund wrestles faithfully and gives as good a survey of present theories and opinions as any one man's brain could be expected to produce. But it is obvious that both as regards the general problems and those arising out of the particular play and poems human limitations must make their influence felt far more deeply in the constructive rehandling of materials of so great extent and intricacy than in less contentious surveys. When Sir Edmund is dealing with facts he is quite masterly. His treatment of the problems is likely to prove of considerably less permanent value, partly, perhaps, because the problems themselves have largely arisen out of recent work, much of which is tentative and exploratory.

A combination of scepticism and romance makes Sir Edmund strain probabilities in order to preserve from hypothetical or inferential encroachments the hiatus in our definite know-ledge of Shakespeare's life from the begetting of the twins born in February 1585 to Greene's attack in August 1592. On one side of him he is a man of facts who hates to put into his build-ing a single brick which cannot be trusted to keep its position ; on another side, which he does not wear on his sleeve, I believe he takes a romantic pleasure in keeping as many as may be of these eight years undisturbed by the intrusion of common-

place details. He enjoys the hiatus because at the end of it Shakespeare can make a better entry on his stage. Thus in earlier studies he suggested that the Talbot scenes in *1 Henry VI* (1592) were Shakespeare's earliest dramatic writing. He has now been converted to believe that in 1592 Shakespeare had already written the plays printed in the Folio as *2 & 3 Henry VI*; but he still asks us to think of Shakespeare as starting play-writing in 1591, though in one passage he admits the double date 1590–1. But surely it is difficult to believe that even Shakespeare could have written plays so mature as *2 & 3 Henry VI* without previous experience, and on the other hand when Sir Edmund comes to *Titus Andronicus*, which, in the belief that a stage-tradition recorded (or invented ?) by Ravenscroft in 1687 is correct, he assigns to so late a date as 1594, its crudity is a stumbling block and he ends his remarks:

> If *Titus Andronicus* was not new in 1594 we cannot, of course, say how much revision then took place, or whether Peele or another, as well as Shakespeare, helped in it. All that can be assigned to Shakespeare at that date, seems very little to justify a ' ne '.[1] And again if the play was originally written in 1592, and still more if in 1589, the stylistic case against Shakespeare as an original writer is weakened, and as the *Garter* poem did not exist, that for Peele as an original writer is, so far as the parallels to it have any weight, strengthened. I am sorry to be so inconclusive, but the complicated data are themselves so.

Sir Edmund has my warmest sympathy, but ' Shakespeare's hand in *Titus Andronicus* ' at the present moment seems to me the most important problem for any one who is trying to work out how he made his start as a playwright, and Sir Edmund's helplessness suggests that he has been writing at a bad time for appraising critical opinions with the same prospect of permanence as he has attained in the rest of his book. His treatment of the problem of the Sonnets is a real blow to me. I thought that Mr. J. A. Fort, with the aid of Dr. Harrison and

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[1] Henslowe's mark for a ' new ' play, occasionally used for one that had been rewritten. A. W. P.

others, had worked out a theory of the composition of the bulk
of them, with Southampton as the 'fair youth', which every
one would be able to accept. On pp. 564–5 Sir Edmund writes
(so I understand him) as his own opinion ' that the three years'
range of civ was probably 1593–6 ; that the bulk of the sonnets
belong to this period ; and that others were added more
sparsely up to 1599 or so '. But while thus agreeing with Mr.
Fort on 1593 as the probable date of the inception of the cycle
Sir Edmund goes back to the belief, which almost every one
else has given up, that the 'fair youth' was not Southampton,
but William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who at that date was
thirteen years of age. No doubt Southamptonites have been
too imaginative in some of their explanations, but in going back
to the Herbert theory Sir Edmund will find that he has passed
from the frying-pan into the fire as soon as he tries to comment
on the Sonnets as faithfully as Mr. Fort has done in his recent
edition. That Pembroke's friends planned a marriage for him
at the age of 15 offers no substantial alleviation of the difficulty
of believing the earlier sonnets to have been addressed to him,
while in the light of *Willobie and his Avisa* it seems merely
prodigal to believe that Shakespeare was almost simultaneously
mixed up with the sexual adventures of a still younger lord.
If the Sonnets began within a few weeks of the acceptance by
Southampton of Shakespeare's dedication of *Venus and Adonis*
it seems amazing to contend that not Southampton, but a boy
of thirteen, was the person to whom they were addressed.

Other individual points of which, as it seems to me, a wrong
view is taken are as to the comparative warmth of the dedica-
tions to *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* between which Sir
Edmund thinks it ' super-subtle ' to see any marked difference
(I. 61), and in the discussion on punctuation a curious inability
to conceive that commas can ever really have been used merely
as indications of how a line should be read. A pause may surely
be neither grammatical nor (in the usual sense of the word)

rhetorical, but merely the breaking up of a line into convenient lengths. Sir Edmund writes (I. 195) :

You do not want a rhetorical pause in such lines as—

              The Cowslips tall, her pensioners bee,

or—

              I could have giuen my Vnkles Grace, a flout,

or—

              Your brother, and his louer haue embraced ;

or—

              Th'extrauagant, and erring Spirit, hyes

This last line has two commas, one superfluous and the other clearly wrong.

But the fact remains that the lines, if read aloud as they are pointed, have a pretty rhythm without the smallest obscuration of the sense.

The only notable slip I have observed in these two volumes is the prefixing the words ' Malone in 1790 wrote of the plays : ' to the well-known passage from Dr. Johnson's ' Proposals ' for a new edition of Shakespeare in 1756,

They were immediately copied for the actors, and multiplied by transcript after transcript, vitiated by the blunders of the penman, or changed by the affectation of the player ; perhaps enlarged to introduce a jest or mutilated to shorten the representation ; and printed at last without the concurrence of the author, without the consent of the proprietor, from compilations made by chance or by stealth out of the separate parts written for the theatre ; and thus thrust into the world surreptitiously and hastily, they suffered another depravation from the ignorance of the printers, as every man who knows the state of the press in that age will readily conceive.

This occurs on I. 144 and is apparently alluded to nine pages later as ' Malone's theory of the construction of copy for the printers from actors' " parts " '. If Malone wrote the passage in 1790 he was merely copying out Johnson's vigorous sentence, and the passage seems to me so typically Johnsonian that the attribution of it to Malone raises a doubt whether Sir Edmund Chambers is himself greatly gifted with that ' percipience of style' of which he writes on p. 219 as 'a very real quality', and on which alone he can rely as to the authorship of *Titus Andro-*

nicus, when he prefers Ravenscroft's excuse (as I should call it) for his own treatment of the play to its attribution to Shakespeare by Meres and its inclusion in the Folio. The doubt may be unreasonable, as Sir Edmund has doubtless studied Shakespeare much more diligently than he has studied Johnson and Malone. Nevertheless, in dealing with a good many problems he seems to me to lose his sureness of touch, and I wish he had carried his refusal (I. 251) to attempt 'aesthetic criticism' in this work a little farther,—not that his opinions are not worth consideration, but that they belong to the fugitive discussions of which I myself have written something more than my share, and don't fit well with the rest of his book. If this, in its main features, needed commendation I would find pretty adjectives with which to wind up this notice of it ; but with ' E. K. Chambers' on the title-page it needs no eulogies. I wish, however, that Sir Edmund's sense of discipline had induced him to submit to the authority of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in its ruling that for the adjective formed from Shakespeare's name ' the forms in -ian are alone correct according to the relevant analogies '. A. W. P.

La Miniature Française aux XV₂ et XVI⁰ siècles, par ANDRÉ BLUM et PHILIPPE LAUER ; Les Éditions G. Van Oest, Paris. 1930. Pp. vii, 128 ; 100 plates (one in colours).

THE enterprising firm of Van Oest is to be congratulated on the appearance of yet another volume in its extensive series of illustrated monographs on the illuminated manuscripts of different countries. The present work, which completes the history of French illumination in the series, had been undertaken in the first instance by the late Comte Paul Durrieu, but up to the time of his death he had been unable to do more than draw up a list of the miniatures to be reproduced. The task was then carried out jointly, or rather, severally, by MM. André Blum and Philippe Lauer, the former being responsible for the

general introduction and the latter for the fulfilment of Comte
Durrieu's wishes with regard to the plates and for the notes on
the manuscripts reproduced, while Comte A. de Laborde has
contributed a preface. I have been compelled to qualify the
adverb ' jointly ', because throughout the whole of M. Blum's
otherwise interesting introduction there is a complete absence
of references to the plates, an omission which seriously impairs
the utility of the work to students ; it is greatly to be hoped
that steps will be taken to remedy the defect in a second edition.
M. Blum's introduction is divided into six chapters, followed
by a general ' Conclusion '. The first two, headed respectively
' Les Historieurs ' and ' Les Traditions et les Influences', are
mainly concerned with the distinction that arose in the fifteenth
century between the artists who executed the miniatures and
the illuminators, who might be concerned only with the initial
and border ornament, M. Blum laying stress on the inter-
national character of the former and the consequent difficulty
in assigning them to any one country, particularly in the case
of France and Flanders. Chapter 3 deals with the manuscripts
executed between the period of the Limbourgs and that of
Fouquet, among which M. Blum distinguishes three main
groups. To the first of these, that of the Sarum Breviary at
Paris[1] and the Book of Hours in the British Museum,[2] both of
which were executed for John Duke of Bedford, some important
books could be added, notably a splendid Book of Hours at
Vienna,[3] the Sobieski Hours in the Royal Library at Windsor,[4]

[1] lat. 17924. M. Blum calls this group that of the ' Maître du Bréviaire du duc
de Bedford et de Salisbury', a confusion between the fact of this being a Breviary
of Sarum use and of its having been executed for John Duke of Bedford.

[2] Add. MS. 18850; this MS., which is a Book of Hours, has long been in-
correctly known as the Bedford Missal, and is so styled throughout the present
work.

[3] Cod. 1855 ; see *Bulletin de la Soc. franç. de Reprod. de MSS. à Peintures*,
2ᵉ Année, 1912, Pls. V–VIII.

[4] *New Palaeographical Society*, First Series. Plates 94–6, 194–5.

and the Dunois Hours in the possession of Mrs. Yates Thomp-
son.[1] Chapter 4 deals entirely with Fouquet, M. Blum exer-
cising caution, as M. de Laborde notes in his preface, with
regard to the attribution of work to this famous artist, the
Hours of Étienne Chevalier and the Antiquités Judaïques being
in fact the only two that he assigns to him with certainty, while
he admits strong probability in the case of the ' Statuts de
l'Ordre de Saint Michel' and the large miniature of the Court
of Justice in the Boccaccio at Munich. The two remaining
chapters are entitled ' De Fouquet à Bourdichon' and ' La
Décadence de la Miniature sous la Renaissance '. The plates
and the notices of the manuscripts by M. Lauer form the second
part of the work; as has already been mentioned, Comte
Durrieu left at his death a rough list of the miniatures to be
reproduced, and M. Lauer set himself to carry this list into
effect, accompanying the plates with careful bibliographical and
other notes. M. Lauer must have worked under considerable
difficulty, as he no doubt wished to interfere as little as pos-
sible with Comte Durrieu's arrangement. I take this to be
the explanation of the order of some of the plates, e. g. why the
Bedford Hours (British Museum, Add. MS. 18850)[2] are re-
produced in Plates 3 and 7 instead of in two consecutive plates,
and why a group of miniatures by Fouquet and other MSS.
of later date precedes instead of follows the plates of the
Grandes Heures de Rohan of the early fifteenth century
(Plates 28, 29). The dates of the MSS. reproduced are not
given in the underlines to the plates; this omission is usually
the case with plates executed in France, but the dates are not
always supplied in the accompanying notices, a point to which

[1] H. Y. Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts*, Vol. 5, Plates
xlviii–lii.

[2] The best and most recent account of this MS. is in Sir George Warner's
Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum, Plate 47, to which M. Lauer
would do well to give a reference in the next edition.

M. Lauer's attention may be called. The plates themselves are up to M. Van Oest's usual standard, but it was surely a mistake to reproduce the two pages of the Sarum Breviary at Paris (Plates 4, 5) on a different scale ; the page illustrated in Plate 4 has some of the margins trimmed, and would seem, judging from the dimensions of the MS. given by M. Lauer, to be larger than the actual size of the MS.   E. G. M.

Bibliographia : Studies in Book History and Book Structure 1750–1900. Edited by MICHAEL SADLEIR. (Limited to 500 copies.) I. *The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles 1770–1900*, by Michael Sadleir, with twelve plates in collotype. London : Constable & Co. Ltd. ; New York: Richard Smith Inc. pp. x, 96. Price 20*s*. net. II. *A Bibliography of William Beckford of Fonthill*, by Guy Chapman in conjunction with John Hodgkin. London: Constable & Co. Ltd. 1930. pp. xxii, 128. Price 25*s*. net.

THE title and sub-title which Mr. Sadleir has chosen for his series suggest that he wishes to emphasize a belief that orderly writing about any feature in a book other than the literary value of its contents may fairly be called Bibliography. I am far from quarrelling with this view, but the title *Bibliographia* is only appropriate to a general treatise, and as the *Bibliographica* of 1894–6 is not yet quite forgotten I think this charmingly built series of little monographs might better have been called *Bibliophilica* as arising out of the love which good bookmen, like Mr. Sadleir, have for their books. The history of publishers' cases is a pretty subject, and Mr. Sadleir has written on it with modesty and unstinted care. The modesty is shown in the frequent warnings that (like other valiant pioneers) he can only state the earliest examples of a style which he has been able to trace. Whether his statements stand or are amended he deserves gratitude for such bold precision as that 'the earliest example of a book bearing a contemporary printed label on the spine ' is Baskerville's edition of Barclay's *Apology* (4to, 1765), and his careful examination of the rival claims of 1821 and 1825

to have witnessed the beginning of cloth binding. For dating gold blocking on cloth in 1832 he can quote positive evidence, in that Vols. 1 and 2 of Murray's 12mo edition of Byron's Works issued in that year have paper labels and on Vol. 3 the title is in gold. Besides giving useful illustrations and carefully sifted facts Mr. Sadleir writes effectively on the philosophy of his subject, why it is so difficult, the appearance of precursors of a style decades before it was adopted, the intricacies of concurrent styles, and the deceitfulness of secondary bindings. If all his authors keep to their General Editor's standard the series will be a good one. Except that it is of more special and restricted interest, *A Bibliography of Beckford* by Guy Chapman and John Hodgkin deserves this praise. The tangled story of the publication of *Vathek* is made as clear as it is ever likely to be, and Beckford's other works are duly and elaborately registered. Of the more important editions the title-pages are given in facsimile as well as in type-for-type transcripts, the ugliness of which might surely have been withheld when thus rendered superfluous. However, they serve a purpose by showing how impossible it is when several types in several sizes are used on a title-page to give any true representation of them in a transcript printed continuously, and how misleading the attempt may become, as in the case of the *Azemia* of 1797.   A. W. P.

Les xylographies du XIVᵉ et du XVᵉ siècle au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Par P. A. LEMOISNE, Conservateur du Cabinet des Estampes. 2 tom. Paris et Bruxelles, Les Editions G. van Oest. 1927–30.

A NOTE at the end of the second of these two handsome volumes states that a certain number of woodcuts have not been reproduced as probably later than 1500, others because they are really book-illustrations, and yet others because their interest is ' trop minime '. The inference is that the hundred and thirty plates (mostly coloured) here shown reproduce all the single woodcuts earlier than 1501 in the Cabinet des

Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale which its Conservateur considers to be worthy of attention. There is thus no need to enlarge on the importance of these two volumes in which xylographs of great interest are admirably reproduced and admirably described by Monsieur Lemoisne. His introduction is clear as well as learned, and as the woodcuts here shown and described have been the subject of more ' patriotic ' attributions than perhaps any others his imperturbable judiciality is especially welcome. It would not be true to say that the authors of the *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au XV*^e *siècle* (1891–1911) and *Les deux cents incunables xylographiques du Département des estampes* (1903) never agree. Both, in fact, assign two small cuts of the Passion (Nos. 8 and 9) to Burgundy, and Dr. Schreiber sometimes refrains from an attribution where Henri Bouchot gives one. But for cut after cut Schreiber is found advocating a German origin and Bouchot a French, and Monsieur Lemoisne commands our sympathy by his refusal to pronounce judgement on inadequate evidence.

While refusing to follow blindly his predecessor in the Cabinet des Estampes M. Lemoisne is not only just but generous in his estimate of his work, of which he writes :

Son ouvrage comprend deux parties : la première est une étude générale sur l'art & la gravure au XIVe & au XVe siècle ; la seconde est un catalogue des estampes incunables du Cabinet de Paris, estampes sur métal & sur bois. Emporté par son sujet, il lui est arrivé parfois, dans ce catalogue, de se laisser entraîner, pour ses attributions, à des conclusions trop hâtives. Il a ainsi groupé, sous le nom de ' maître aux boucles ', des œuvres que nous croyons aujourd'hui, malgré une certaine apparence commune, dues à des artistes différents. La caractéristique principale de ces œuvres, les plis en forme de boucles, montre plutôt l'influence très visible de l'art des verriers français du XIVe siècle & ne saurait être la marque d'un atelier spécial. Mais cette réserve faite, que d'idées neuves, quelle richesse, quelle abondance d'informations dans l'autre partie de l'ouvrage, où il reprend certaines des théories de son excellente étude sur le bois Protat ! Comme il a eu raison, après M. de Laborde, d'attirer notre attention sur l'importance du foyer artistique franco-flamand de la cour des ducs de Bourgogne ! Comme il a

˙eu raison surtout de rappeler le rôle primordial & considérable de certaines grandes abbayes, chefs d'ordre, comme Cluny et Cîteaux par exemple ! Enfin, il a très heureusement montré la voie aux travailleurs en insistant sur les renseigne- ments précieux que peuvent nous donner, dans l'étude de certaines estampes, des détails archéologiques ou historiques.

This is a fine tribute, all the more impressive as coming from a critic whose temperament is more akin to that of Mr. Camp- bell Dodgson, of whose monograph on the early Flemish and German woodcuts in the British Museum (published the same year as M. Bouchot's) he writes, ' la prudence des conclusions de son catalogue est un enseignement fort utile pour l'étude d'un sujet aussi ardu que celui dont nous nous occupons '.

The history of this collection is truly amazing, the bulk of it including most of the older and finer pieces having been ac- quired, in 1832 and 1839, from Michel Hennin, a French civil servant born at Geneva, who valued 45 coloured prints of the first half of the fifteenth century at 431 francs and 58 of the second half at 477. The part the treasures, so cheaply priced, played in building up the collection at the Bibliothèque may be estimated from the facts that up to 1832 it possessed only four early xylographs and that of 62 illustrated in the first of these two volumes all but eleven came from M. Hennin, including the fine S. Bénigne (No. ii) dated before 1400, two very early representations of Christ carrying the Cross (Nos. iii and vii), one full of feeling, the other of singular nobility, a crowned Virgin and Child (especially reminiscent of a painted window), found by M. Hennin pasted into a manuscript along with some playing cards (No. iv), and others of the best examples here shown. In the second volume the Hennin pieces, while still numerous, include little of the first rank, and the best work has been bought during the last sixty years. The famous set of *Les Neuf Preux*, though included here, does not belong to the Cabinet des Estampes, as it is bound up with an armorial of Gilles le Bouvier in the Cabinet des Manuscrits. The figure

of Hector in it is now regarded as a portrait of Charles the Bold in early manhood (1465–70), making it somewhat later than it used to be reckoned. To six of the prints no provenance is assigned, eight others are noted as early acquisitions, though some of them are presumably later than 1832, at which time we are told, as noted above, that there were only four single woodcuts in the Cabinet. Departmental tradition records that M. Hennin made most of his purchases in Lyonnais, Burgundy, Savoy, and Bavaria, and this is borne out by the character of the prints. For French work the collection is unrivalled; for that of other countries it can hardly be reckoned in the first rank.

A. W. P.

A Facsimile Reproduction of a Unique Catalogue of Laurence Sterne's Library. With a preface by CHARLES WHIBLEY. London: James Tregaskis & Son; New York: Edgar H. Wells & Co. Inc., 1930. pp. 14, 94. Price 24*s*. 330 copies for sale.

' WHEN Sterne died in 1768, his books were sold to Todd and Sotheran, at the sign of the Golden Bible in Stonegate, York.' They fetched, so Mr. Whibley tells us, '£80, some £20 more than did his horses and chaise '. The title-page of the catalogue of 2,505 lots (besides ' a large collection of single sermons at one shilling per dozen ') advertises its contents as ' a curious and valuable collection of books, among which are included the entire library of the late Reverend and Learned Laurence Sterne, A.M., Prebendary of York, &c. &c., author of *The Life and Opinions* of Tristram Shandy, Gent. and several other works of wit and humour '. Thus the sale included other books besides Sterne's, which casts a slight doubt on the provenance of any item not otherwise avouched. There can, however, be no doubt that the bulk of the books are his. The sale was to begin ' on Tuesday, August 23, 1768 and continue till all are sold '. To the great majority of entries prices are affixed, presumably those at which biddings would be invited. It is unfortunate that one of the few exceptions is the first entry.

1. Caxton's *Game and Play of the Chesse, wants title,* 1474. This book is allowed by all the Typographical Antiquaries to have been the first specimen of the Art among us.

Mr. Whibley in his reference to this in his Introduction expands the statement *wants title* (which the book never had) into 'fortunate in lacking no more than the title', which seems singularly rash. He notes the presence of 'a Chaucer, described somewhat ingenuously', as 'a very old copy, black letter, wants title, imprinted at London by Kele' (i.e. the *c.* 1545 ed.), priced at 4*s.*, but not that the sale included also (No. 252) Petit's issue of the same book. An Appendix, which begins on p. 88 of the Catalogue, enters a copy of Urry's edition, so that if this may be reckoned as Sterne's he possessed altogether three Chaucers. That the books in the Appendix belonged to his library is made probable by its registering Johnson's edition of Shakespeare and Steevens's reprint of the twenty plays printed during his lifetime. Without these Sterne possessed only ten volumes in duodecimo of 1767, which seems rather meagre. On the other hand, if he had already bought the Johnson edition of 1765 and Steevens of 1766, the acquisition of the duodecimo of 1767 seems extravagant, though to be sure Sterne, who was making money about this time, may have bought it just because the volumes were of a handy size. The introduction does not help us on this point, but gives a good general survey of the collection, with special note of the books from which Sterne borrowed so unblushingly. The chief of these, Burton's *Anatomy,* he owned in the edition of 1652.

Proceedings of the British Academy, 1927 (1928). London, published for the British Academy by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen House, E.C. [Undated] pp. 383 (470). Price 30*s.* each volume.

THE British Academy is reducing its arrears, the first of these volumes having reached us in February and the second in October of the present year, neither of them, we regret to note, bearing the date of publication. Both are printed in the larger

type by which the recent publications of the Academy have been made much easier to read, though with the result that each volume now only contains the proceedings of a single year. In the Shakespeare Lecture for 1927 Professor Ashley Thorndike touches successively on the earlier known purchases of English editions for American libraries, on early performances of his plays, the first editions printed in America, and the teaching of Shakespeare in American schools. The 1928 lecture, delivered by Dr. W. W. Greg on ' Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare ', is augmented by illustrative notes which increase its bulk to seventy pages and add much more to its importance. This, like most of the Academy's lectures, can be obtained separately from Mr. Humphrey Milford. No other articles in these two volumes can be said to have much to do with the studies with which *The Library* is specially concerned, but we cannot leave unmentioned the masterly papers on ' Anthropomorphism and Physics ' by Dr. T. Percy Nunn and on ' Sir Isaac Newton ' by Dr. C. D. Broad, in the 1927 volume.

Six Vaudois Poems from the Waldensian Manuscripts in the University Libraries of Cambridge, Dublin and Geneva. Edited by H. J. Chaytor. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1930. pp. xxi, 117. 10s. 6d. net.

READERS of Henry Bradshaw's *Collected Papers* will remember that the first of them is devoted to these Waldensian manuscripts, deposited by Samuel Morland in the University Library on his return from Savoy in 1658, and long believed to have been lost, or spirited away by controversialists. They had come to be regarded, according to Bradshaw, ' as miscellaneous pieces, apparently in Spanish, of no particular importance '. Mr. Chaytor has now printed from them these six poems, noting variants in the copies at Dublin and Geneva, and adding a prose translation and notes.